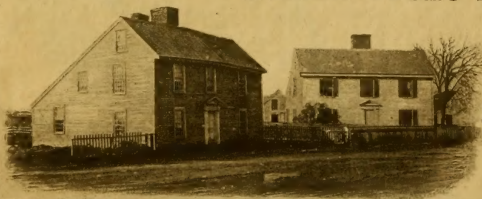




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GEOGRAPHERS, and NAVIGATION.

---

By Mr. ROLLIN,

*Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in  
the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscrip-  
tions and Belles Lettres.*

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Translated from the FRENCH.

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V O L. III.

The S E C O N D E D I T I O N.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
ARTS and SCIENCES  
OF THE  
ANTIQUITIES, &c.

---

OF  
POLITE LEARNING,  
OR THE  
BELLES LETTRES.

---

OF POETRY.

CHAPTER I.

SECT. III.

*Third age of the Latin poetry.*

I HAVE already said, that this third age of Latin poetry began about the middle of Tiberius's reign. Some of the poets, of whom I shall soon speak, might be ranked amongst those of the best age, to which they are very near both in time and merit. It is however believed, that there is some difference discernible in them.

## S E N E C A.

Of the ten Latin tragedies that have been collected and published together under the name of Seneca, it is generally enough agreed, that the finest were written by the celebrated philosopher, who was Nero's preceptor. The *Medea* is believed to be undoubtedly his, because Quintilian quotes a passage from it, to which he adds his name. There are some particular reasons also for ascribing the *Œdipus* to him. Mr. Le Fevre finds too much of the declamation and the schools in the *Agamemnon*, *Troas*, and *Hercules*. Others however believe, that the *Troas* and *Hippolytus* are really his: but that the *Agamemnon*, *Hercules furens*, *Thyestes*, and *Hercules Œtæus*, are either Seneca the father's, or some other unknown author's. As to the *Thebais* and *Octavia*, they are thought entirely unworthy of Seneca's genius and eloquence. And it is certain that the latter was not writ till after the death of Seneca, and even of Nero.

## P E R S I U S.

PERSIUS, (*Aulus Persius Flaccus*) a satyric poet in the reign of Nero, was born at Volaterræ, a city of Tuscany. He was of the Equestrian order, and related and allied to persons of the first rank. He studied till twelve years old at Volaterræ, and afterwards at Rome under the grammarian Palæmon, the rhetorician Virginius, and a Stoic philosopher named Cornutus, who conceived a particular friendship for him, and with whom he always lived in the greatest intimacy.

This poet was of a very gentle and humane disposition, very friendly and obliging to his relations and acquaintance, and extremely regular in his manners and conduct. In his satires he often cen-



figures the faults of the orators and poets of his time, without sparing Nero himself:

*Aurículas asini\* quis non habet?*

We read there also these four verses, which are believed Nero's, and which he cites as an example of the tumid or bombastic stile:

*Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,  
Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo  
Bassaris, & lyncem Mænas flexura corymbis  
Evion ingeminat: reparabilis adjonat Echo.*

Boileau justifies himself by this example: "Let us examine Persius, says he, who wrote in the reign of Nero. He does not confine himself to ridiculing the works of the poets of his time; he attacks the works of Nero himself. For every body knows, and Nero's court knew, that the four verses *Torva Mimalloneis*, &c. which Persius rallies so severely in his first satire, were Nero's. However, we do not find that Nero, all Nero as he was, inflicted any punishment upon Persius: that tyrant, the enemy of reason, and inamoured, as all know, of his own works, was however so much a gallant man, as to understand raillery in respect to his verses, and did not believe the emperor, on this occasion, ought to take upon himself what concerned the poet."

The work of Persius, in which refined morality and a wonderful fund of sense distinguished themselves every-where, though of no great extent, has acquired him great glory, and a glory of the most solid kind, says Quintilian: *Multum, & veræ gloriæ, quamvis uno libro, meruit Persius*. It must however be owned, that the obscurity which prevails in his satires, exceedingly diminishes their merit. This made a certain person say, that since Persius would

\* It is said he wrote, at first, *Aurículas asini Mida rex habet*.

## OF LATIN POETS.

not be understood, he would not understand him.  
*Si non vis intelligi, nec ego volo te intelligere.*

He died at only twenty-eight years of age, in the 62d year of our Lord, which was the 8th year of Nero's reign. In gratitude to his master and friend Cornutus, he left him his library, which consisted of seven hundred volumes, a very considerable one in those days, with a great sum of money. Cornutus accepted the books, but gave the money to the heirs of Persius, who were his sisters.

## J U V E N A L.

I antedate the time of Juvenal here, in order to join those two Satiric poets together.

Juvenal (*Decimus*, or *Decius Junius Juvenalis*) was of Aquinum in the kingdom of Naples. He lived at Rome about the end of Domitian's reign, and even in Nerva's and Trajan's. He acquired great reputation by his satires, of which sixteen are come down to us. He passed the greatest part of his life in the exercises of the schools, where he was famous for being a vehement declaimer :

Juvenal, élevé dans le cris de l'Ecole,  
 Poussa jusqu'à l'excès sa mordante hyperbole.

*Boileau.*

*He, bred in bawling schools debate to wage,  
 Puss'd to excess his hyperbolic rage.*

Julius Scaaliger, who is always singular in his sentiments, prefers the force of Juvenal to Horace's simplicity. But all people of good taste agree, that the declamatory and bitter genius of Juvenal is much inferior to the natural, delicate, and refined simplicity of Horace's satire.

Vet. Juven.  
 vit.

In his seventh satire he had ventured to attack the comedian Paris, whose power was enormous at court, and who bestowed all offices both civil and military :

*Ille*



*Ille & militiæ multis largitur honorem,  
Semestri valum digitos circumligat auro,  
Quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio.*

The proud comedian did not suffer so offensive an attempt without resenting it. He caused Juvenal to be banished into Egypt, by sending him thither to command a body of troops incamped at the extremity of that country. After Domitian's death he returned to Rome, where he remained, as is judged from some of his satires, till the reign of Adrian.

It is believed that Quintilian, who made it his rule not to name any living author, means Juvenal, when he says, that there are satiric poets of his time well worthy of esteem, and who will one day be very famous: *Sunt clari hodieque & qui olim nominabuntur.* Lib. 10. c. 1.

It were to be wished, that, in reproving the manners of others with too much severity, he had not shewn, that he himself was void of modesty; and that he had not combated vices, in a manner that rather teaches the practice, than inspires the horror, of them.

## LUCAN.

LUCAN (*M. Annaeus Lucanus*) was Seneca's nephew. The most celebrated of his works is his *Pharsalia*, in which he relates the war of Cæsar and Pompey. He abounds with fine thoughts, and there is great spirit and vivacity in his stile: but Quintilian thinks him rather to be reckoned amongst the orators than the poets: *Lucanus ardens, & concitatus, & sententiis clarissimus; & ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis annumerandus.* Quint. l. 10. c. 1. To equal Lucan with Virgil, as some are willing to do, is not exalting Lucan, but shewing little discernment. We may however say of him, that, if years had ripened Lucan's genius, who perhaps was not twenty-six when he died, and added Virgil's judgment to his fire and sublimity,

he might have been a consummate poet. Many of his poems are lost.

The life of Lucan, ascribed to Suetonius, accuses him of a light intemperate tongue, and particularly of having spoken of Nero, who loved him, in a manner capable of exasperating even a mild and rational prince.

He was one of the \* first that entered into Piso's conspiracy, out of resentment to Nero, who, through mean jealousy, suppressed the reputation of his poems, and prevented him from publishing them. That prince ordered Lucan to be put to death, and his veins were opened. When he perceived the warmth abandon the extremities of his body, remembering that he had formerly described a soldier expiring in that manner, he repeated the verses that expressed his death, which were his last words: a frivolous consolation for a dying man, but worthy an Heathen poet. He died in the 65th year of the Christian Æra, and in the twelfth of Nero.

### PETRONIUS.

PETRONIUS (*Petronius Arbiter*) was of Provence, in the country near Marseilles, as Sidonius Apollinarius informs us; and lived, according to the more received opinion, in the reigns of Claudius and Nero.

We have of this author's works the remains of a satire, or rather of several satirical books (*Satyricon*) which he composed both in verse and prose. This is a kind of romance in the same form as the satires, which Varro, as I have said before, had invented by mingling verse and prose, the serious with the gay, agreeably; and which he called *Menippeæ*, from Menippus the Cynic, who before him had treated grave subjects in a stile of pleasantry and ridicule.

These fragments are only an indigested collection

\* Lucanum propriæ causæ accendebant, quod famam carminum ejus premebat Nero, prohibueratque ostentare, vanus adsimulatione. Tacit. Annal. l. 15. c. 49.

## OF LATIN POETS.

of detached parts, taken from the papers of somebody who had extracted what he liked best from Petronius without any order. The learned find in them extreme refinement and delicacy of taste, and a wonderful happiness in painting the different characters of those he introduces speaking. They observe, however, though Petronius seems to have been a great critic, and a writer of a most exquisite taste, that his style does not entirely come up to the delicacy of his judgment; that it is not without some affectation; is too florid and elaborate; and that it degenerates even so early as his time from the natural and majestic simplicity of the golden age of Augustus. But, were his style much more perfect, he would be still the more dangerous to his readers, from the obscenities with which he has filled his work.

It is doubted, whether this Petronius be the same mentioned by Tacitus. That historian gives us the following picture of Petronius Turpilianus, which sufficiently agrees with the idea the reading of the work in question gives us of its author: "He was  
 " a \* voluptuous man, who passed the day in sleep,  
 " and the night in pleasures or business. As others  
 " acquire reputation by industry, he had made  
 " himself famous for his idleness. He did not pass  
 " however for a prodigal and a debauchee, like  
 " those who ruin themselves by excesses, void of  
 " sense and taste, but for a man of a refined and  
 " learned luxury. All his words and actions were  
 " the more pleasing, as they carried with them,

\* Illi dies per somnum, nox officiis & oblectamentis vitæ transigebantur. Utque alios industria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat, habebaturque non ganeo & profligator, ut plerique sua haurientium, sed erudito luxu. Ac dicta factaque ejus, quanto solutiora, & quandam sui negligentiam præferentia, tanto gratius in speciem simplicitatis accipiebantur. Proconsul tamen Bithyniæ, & mox Consul, vigentem se ac parem negotiis ostendit: deinde revolutus ad vitia, seu vitiorum imitationem, inter paucos familiarium Neroni adsumptus est, elegantiae arbiter, dum nihil amœnum & molle, nisi quod ei Petronius approbavisset. Unde invidia Tigellini, quasi adversus æmulum, & scientia voluptatum potiorem. *Tacit. Annal. l. 16. c. 18.*



## OF LATIN POETS.

“ even when loosest, a certain air of negligence  
 “ peculiar to him, which, as it seemed nature it-  
 “ self, had all the charms of simplicity. Notwith-  
 “ standing, when he was proconsul of Bithynia,  
 “ and afterwards when consul, he discovered a  
 “ capacity for the greatest employments. Return-  
 “ ing after to a voluptuous life, either out of in-  
 “ clination or policy, because the prince loved de-  
 “ bauch, he became one of his principal confi-  
 “ dents. It was he that regulated every thing in  
 “ Nero’s parties of pleasure, who thought nothing  
 “ agreeable nor in taste, which Petronius had not  
 “ approved. This excited the envy of Tigellinus  
 “ against him, as a dangerous rival, that excelled  
 “ himself in the knowledge of pleasures, and the  
 “ science of voluptuousness.” Petronius killed  
 himself, to avoid the death to which the emperor  
 had condemned him upon a false accusation.

If this Petronius be not the writer intended here,  
 so admirable a picture will at least serve to give us  
 an idea of the stile of Tacitus, of whom I shall  
 have occasion to speak in the sequel.

## SILIUS ITALICUS.

C. SILIUS ITALICUS rendered himself famous by  
 his poem on the second Punic war.

He was not born \* a poet, and study did not en-  
 tirely supply what he wanted on the side of nature.  
 Besides which he did not apply himself to poetry,  
 till after he had long exercised the function of an ad-  
 vocate at the bar, and had been consul, that is to say,  
 in a very advanced and languid period of life.

Whatever † praises Martial bestows on him, he is  
 not much esteemed as a poet : he is however deem-  
 ed to excel all the writers of his time in purity of  
 language. He follows the truth of history exactly

\* *Scribebat carmina majore cura quam ingenio.* *Plin. Ep. 7. l. 3.*

† *Perpetui nunquam moritura volumina Sili*

*Qui legis, & Latia carmina digna toga.*

*Ep. 63. l. 74*  
 enough,

enough, and lights may be found in his poem, though not his principal design, into things which passed in the times of which he writes; there being facts in him not to be found elsewhere.

What he says of Domitian sufficiently shews, that he wrote in the reign of that prince, after the war with the Sarmatæ, in which that with the Daci may be included.

He is believed to have died in the time of Trajan, in the year 100. He starved himself to death, not being able to bear the pain of an ulcer, which the physicians could not cure. Pliny observes, that Silius, having retired into Campania upon account of his old age, did not quit his retreat to come to Rome, in order to congratulate Trajan upon his accession to the empire. \* That prince was highly praised for not being offended at such a liberty; and he for venturing to take it. Plin. Ep. 7. l. 3.

If our poet could not attain to a perfect imitation of Virgil, at least it was impossible to carry respect for him higher than he did. When he had got possession of the place where Virgil's tomb stood †, it became sacred, and a kind of temple to him. He celebrated that poet's birth-day every year with greater joy and solemnity than his own. He could not suffer so venerable a monument to remain neglected in the hands of a poor peasant, and purchased it:

*Jam propè desertos cineres, & sancta Maronis*

*Nomina qui coleret, pauper & unus erat.*

*Silius optatæ succurrere censuit umbræ:*

*Silius & vatem, non minor ipse, colit.*

Martial. Epig. 50. l. 11.

Silius's work had lain buried for many ages in the dust of the library of St. Gal. Poggius found

\* Magna Cæsaris laus, sub quo hoc liberum fuit: magna illius, qui hæc libertate ausus uti. *Plin. Ep. 7. l. 3.*

† Cujus (Virgilii) natalem religiosius quam suum celebrabat; Neapoli maxime, ubi monumentum ejus adire ut templum solebat. *Plin. ibid.*

it there during the council of Constance, with many other manuscripts, as I have already observed elsewhere.

### STATIUS.

STATIUS (*P. Statius Papinius*) lived in the reign of Domitian. Martial never mentions him, though they were cotemporaries at Rome; which is believed to proceed from jealousy, because the extreme facility of Statius in making extemporary verses made him highly agreeable to Domitian.

We have two heroic poems of Statius: the *Thebaid* in twelve books, and the *Achilleid* in only two, because he was prevented by death from making an end of it.

His poems were highly esteemed at Rome in his time. Juvenal mentions the extraordinary crowding to hear them, and the applauses they received:

*Curritur ad vocem jucundam, & carmen amice.  
Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,  
Promisitque diem: tanta dulcedine captos  
Adficit ille animos, tantaque libidine vulgi  
Auditur.*

Satyr. 6. l. 3.

If we are to take the verses that follow these literally, and if they are not one of the hyperbole's so common to Juvenal, they tell us that Statius was poor, and after having acquired great reputation by his *Thebaid*, was obliged to compose dramatic poems, and to sell them to the actors for the means of life:

——— *Sed cum fregit subsellia versu,  
Esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.*

Julius Scaliger affirms that no author, either ancient or modern, comes so near Virgil as Statius, and makes no difficulty to give him the preference to all the heroic poets, Greek or Latin, maintaining at the same time that his verses are better even than Homer's.



## OF LATIN POETS.

11

Homer's. Such a judgment shews that illustrious critic not to have had so much justness of taste as erudition. The one often hurts the other.

Statius, as well as Lucan and Silius, has treated his subject rather like an historian than a poet, without confining himself to what constitutes the essence of a true Epic poem. As to his diction and versification, in too much endeavouring to rise and appear great, he gives into bombast, and becomes tumid.

### VALERIUS FLACCUS.

As the reign of Augustus produced the most excellent of the Latin poets, that of Domitian has also given us the most considerable poets of the second class.

*C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus.* This poet was born at Setia, a town of Campania; but had fixed his abode at Padua.

His heroic poem upon the voyage of the Argonauts in eight books is come down to us. It was begun in the reign of Vespasian, to whom it is inscribed; but the author was prevented from finishing it by a sudden death. The best judges have but an indifferent opinion of this work, because there are several things in it contrary to the rules of art, no grace and beauty, with a stile which, from affecting a greatness it wants nerves to sustain, becomes cold and languid. Quintilian says, however, that the Latin poetry had lost much by his death, which happened in the latter part of Domitian's reign: *Multum in Valerio Flacco nuper amisimus.*

Lib. 10.

Martial writes to him as to his friend, and advises him to renounce poetry for the bar, and apply himself to something by which more is to be got than by courting the muses, from whom he has nothing to expect but unavailing wreaths and barren praise, attended with want and misery:

*Pierios*

*Pierios differ cantusque chorosque Sororum :*

*Æs dabit ex illis nulla Puella tibi—*

*Præter aquas Helicon, & ferta, lyrasque dearum,  
Nil habet, & magnum sed perinane sophos.*

Ep. 76. l. i.

## MARTIAL.

MARTIAL (*M. Valerius Martialis*) succeeded in the epigram. He was a Spaniard of the city of Bilbilis, which is said to have been not far from that of Caltaïnda in Arragon. He was born in the time of Claudius, and at the age of twenty came to Rome in Nero's reign, where he staid thirty years, beloved by the emperors, and in particular by Domitian, who conferred many favours upon him. It is believed, that his not being so well treated, after the emperor's death, induced him to retire into his own country. He had full time there to grow weary of it, for want of good company, and such as had a taste for polite learning; which made him often think of his residence at Rome with regret. For instead of his verses being exceedingly admired and applauded, as they were in that learned city, at Bilbilis they only excited envy and slander against him; a treatment very hard to bear every day with patience: *Accedit his municipium rubigo dentium, & judicii loco livor—adversus quod difficile est habere quotidie bonum stomachum.* He died in the reign of Trajan, about the year of Christ 100.

Martial. in  
Præf. l. 12.

Fourteen books of Epigrams and one upon Shews remain of his writings. Vossius believes the latter a collection of Martial's verses, and those of some other poets of his time upon the shews exhibited by Titus in the year of Christ 80.

Plin. Ep.  
11. l. 3.

Pliny, in honour of whom he had composed an epigram, (the 19th of the 10th book) gave him a sum of money, when he retired from Rome: for he had

had made but small acquisitions in respect to the goods of fortune. Pliny on this occasion observes, that it was antiently the custom to confer rewards either of profit or honour upon those who had celebrated the glory of cities, or certain illustrious persons. At present, says he, that fashion is expired, with others no less great and noble. When we left off doing actions worthy of praise, we began to despise it: (if not with justice, at least with reason; for it reproached our want of merit.) *Postquam desimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus.*

He lamented the death of Martial, when he was informed of it, and loved and esteemed his genius: but it were to be wished that his verses had always been as chaste and modest, as they are sometimes witty.

He is reproached for too much bitterness and ill-nature, his shameful flattery of Domitian, and his unworthy treatment of him after his death.

The love of subtleties or witticism, and the affectation of points in discourse, had, from the time of Tiberius and Caligula, taken place of the fine taste that prevailed in the reign of Augustus. Those defects increased perpetually, which occasioned Martial's pleasing so much. All his epigrams are far from having the same force and spirit; to which this verse of his own has been justly applied:

Sunt bona, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt mala  
plura.

*Some good, some tolerable, but more bad.*

And indeed most of them are bad; he has however some that are excellent: of which I shall give the reader the following examples.

*Upon an excellent piece of sculpture.*

Artis Phidiacæ toreuma clarum

Pisces adspicis: adde aquam, natabunt. *Ep. 35. l. 3.*

*Upon*



*Upon the slowness of a barber.*

Eutrapelus tonfor dum circuit ora Luperci,  
Expingitque genas, altera barba subit.

*Ep. 83. l. 7.*

*Advice to a person not to go to law.*

Et judex petit, & petit patronus:  
Solvās censeo, Sexte, creditori.

*Ep. 13. l. 2.*

*A judge, you say,—and patron you must get?  
Take my advice, good Sextus; pay the debt.*

*Upon the sudden death of one who had often been victo-  
rious in the races of the Circus.*

Ille ego sum Scorpūs, clamorū gloria Circi;  
Plausus, Roma, tui, deliciæque breves:  
Invida quem Lachesis raptum trieteride nona,  
Dum numerat palmas, credidit esse senem.

*Ep. 51. l. 10.*

*Upon the bold action of Mucius Scævola.*

Dum peteret Regem decepta satellite dextra,  
Injecit sacris se peritura focus.  
Sed tam sæva pius miracula non tulit hostis,  
Et raptum flammis jussit abire virum.  
Urere quam potuit contempto Mucius igne,  
Hanc spectare manum Porsena non potuit.  
Major deceptæ fama est & gloria dextræ:  
Si non errasset, fecerat illa minus.

*Ep. 22. l. 1.*

*Against the inhumanity of a covetous rich man.*

Tu spectas hiemem succincti lentus amici,  
(Prô scelus!) & latêris frigora trita mei.  
Quantum erat, infelix, pannis fraudare duobus,  
(Quid renuis?) non te, Nævole, sed tineas?

*Ep. 46. l. 2.*

*No riches are in reality saved but those we give away.*

Callidus effracta nummos fur auferet arca :

Prosternet patrios impia flamma lares —

Extra fortunam est quicquid donatur amicis :

Quas dederis, solas semper habebis opes.

*Ep. 42. l. 8.*

*Praise and description of a little bitch.* It is somewhat long, but of exceeding delicacy; and I could wish, for the sake of the ladies, that some able hand would translate it into our language in verse :

Iffa est passere nequior Catulli :

Iffa est purior osculo columbæ :

Iffa est blandior omnibus puellis :

Iffa est carior Indicis lapillis :

Iffa est deliciæ catella Publî.

Hanc tu, si queritur, loqui putabis.

Sentit tristitiamque gaudiumque.

Collo nixa cubat, capitque somnos,

Ut suspiria nulla sentiantur :

Et desiderio coacta ventris,

Gutta pallia non fefellit ulla ;

Sed blando pede fuscitat, toroque

Deponi monet, & rogat levâri.

Castæ tantus inest pudor catellæ !

Ignorat Venerem, nec invenimus

Dignum tam tenera virum puella.

Hanc ne lux rapiat suprema totam,

Picta Publius exprimit tabella.

In qua tam similem videbis Iffam,

Ut sit tam similis sibi nec Iffa.

Iffam denique pone cum tabella,

Aut utramque putabis esse veram,

Aut utramque putabis esse pictam.

*Ep. 109. l. 4.*

For the sake of the ladies, as Mr. Rollin recommends it, the Translator has attempted, or rather imitated

*tated this little poem in English measure, how unequally the comparison will best explain :*

*Pretty Issa, which can be  
Of pretty things compar'd to thee !  
Lesbia's sparrow in its play  
Was not half so arch and gay :  
Issa's kisses sweeter far  
Than the billing turtle's are :  
Issa, fonder than the dove :  
Issa, kind as maids in love :  
India's gems with her compare,  
Gems and gold are not so rare :  
Cheap are those in Publius' sight ;  
Issa is his sole delight.*

*Issa has the art to trace  
Joy and sadness in a face ;  
And such notice seems to take,  
Issa, one would think, could speak.  
Whilst she sleeps, her neck sustaining,  
Not a breath her life explaining,  
Should a call of nature take her,  
No distresses rude can make her ;  
But, soft-rising from her place,  
Not a drop to her disgrace,  
Set me down, she tells you plain,  
And now, take me up again.  
And so chaste's the little creature,  
One would think her not of nature :  
Never Venus and her son  
To her spotless breast were known ;  
Nor a spouse could we provide  
Worthy of the tender bride.*

*Lest death snatch her whole away,  
Grief to think ! at her last day,  
Publius does her picture take,  
Long to keep for Issa's sake :  
Issa there as like you see,  
As Issa can to Issa be :*



*Issa by her picture place,  
Issa's two with ev'ry grace!  
Both painted seem, and both seem true;  
They puzzle me, and so would you!*

## S U L P I T I A.

SULPITIA, a Roman lady, was the wife of Calenus. She wrote a poem upon the expulsion of the philosophers, wherein she highly lashes Domitian, and menaces him with death. It is the only one, of a great number of poems composed by her, that is come down to us, and is usually printed at the end of Juvenal's satires. We have reason to regret the loss of the verses she inscribed to her husband upon conjugal love, and the chastity and fidelity to be observed in the married state. Martial gives her great praise in one of his epigrams, of which I shall repeat only some verses :

Omnes Sulpitiam legant puellæ,  
Uni quæ cupiunt viro placere.  
Omnes Sulpitiam legant mariti,  
Uni qui cupiunt placere nuptæ——  
Hac condiscipula, vel hac magistra,  
Esses doctior & pudica Sappho.——  
*Epist. 35. l. 10.*

## Imitated.

*You tender brides, whom virtuous love inspires,  
Refine by wise Sulpitia your desires :  
She can the useful science well impart  
To keep one happy married lover's heart :  
And you, whoe'er desire one bride to charm,  
Yourselfes with bright Sulpitia's dictates arm——  
With her conversant, by her lessons taught,  
Her lovely pupils rise, enlarg'd in thought ;  
Chaste and more learned Sappho's they become,  
Their sex's glory, and the pride of Rome.*

## NEMESIANUS and CALPURNIUS.

We have some eclogues and part of a poem upon hunting written by *M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus*, who was very famous in his time for his poetical works. We are told that he was a native of Carthage. He inscribes his poem upon hunting to Carinus and Numerianus, after their father's death, that is to say, in the year 284.

**TITUS CAPURNIUS**, of Sicily, lived in the reigns of Carus, Carinus, and Numerianus. He composed seven eclogues, which he inscribed to Nemesianus, a pastoral poet as well as himself. The verses of both these poets have the character of the age in which they were written.

## PRUDENTIUS.

**PRUDENTIUS**, (*Aurelius Prudentius Clemens*) a Christian poet, and officer in the court of the emperor Honorius, was born at Saragosa in Spain in the year 348, and died about 412.

He did not begin his poems upon religion till the fifty-seventh year of his age. He had been first an advocate, then a judge, afterwards a soldier, and at last a retainer to the court in an honourable employment. He informs us himself of these circumstances in the prologue of his works:

*Per quinquennia jam decem,  
Ni fallor, fuimus: septimus insuper  
Annum cardo rotat, dum fruimur sole volubili.*

After having spoken of his youth he mentions his different employments:

*Exin jurgia turbidos  
Armarunt animos, & male pertinax  
Vincendi studium subjacuit casibus asperis.  
Bis legum moderamine  
Frænos nobilium reximus urbium:  
Jus civile bonis reddidimus, terruimus res.*

*Tandem*

*Tandem militiæ gradu  
Evectum pietas principis extulit,  
Adsumptum propius stare iubens ordine proximo.*

The poems of Prudentius, come down to us, abound more with zeal for religion than ornaments of art. They are full of false quantities; besides which he is not always orthodox in his notions. We must however confess, that there is abundance of taste and delicacy in many passages of his works: his hymns upon the Innocents are sufficient proofs of this, from which I shall repeat some strophe's:

*Salvete flores martyrum,  
Quos, lucis ipso in limine,  
Christi insecutor sustulit,  
Ceu turbo nascentes rosas.  
Vos prima Christi victima,  
Grex immolatorum tener,  
Aram sub ipsam simplices  
Palma & coronis luditis —  
Audit tyrannus anxius  
Adesse regum principem,  
Qui nomen Israel regat,  
Teneatque David regiam.  
Exclamat amens nuntio:  
Successor instat, pellimur.  
Satelles i, ferrum rape,  
Perfunde cunas sanguine.  
Transfigit ergo carnifex  
Mucrone districto furens  
Effusa nuper corpora,  
Animasque rimatur novas.*

The Augustan age has nothing more animated, nor more delicate, than these strophe's.

## CLAUDIAN.

CLAUDIAN, (*Claudius*) a Latin poet and a Pagan, was a native of Egypt. He lived in the reign of Ar-



## OF LATIN POETS.

cadius and Honorius, who caused a statue to be erected in honour of him. He died soon after Arcadius.

He merits the first rank amongst the heroic poets who appeared after the Augustan age. Of all those who have endeavoured to follow and imitate Virgil, none come so near the majesty of that poet, and retain less of the corruption of the age he lived in, than him. He every-where shews abundance of genius, and that he was born a poet. He was full of that fire which produces enthusiasm. His stile is correct, sweet, elegant, and at the same time noble and sublime. He has however too many flights and fallies of youth, and swells too much. He has wit and imagination, but is far from that delicacy of numbers, that natural and exquisite harmony of verse, which the learned admire in Virgil. He rings perpetually the same round of measures, the same cadence, on account of which one can scarce read him without being tired.

Of the several poems of Claudian, his invectives against Rufinus and Eutropius have been highly esteemed.

## A U S O N I U S.

AUSONIUS (*Decius* or rather *Decimus Magnus Ausonius*) was born at Bourdeaux.

An. 367. At the age of thirty he was chosen professor of grammar, and afterwards of rhetoric. He acquired so great a reputation in the latter employment, that he was sent for to the Imperial court, and made præceptor to Gratian, the son of the emperor Valentinian I. He accompanied his pupil in that young prince's journey with his father into Germany.

An. 379. This employment acquired him the highest dignities of the empire. He was made Quæstor by Valentinian. After the death of that prince, Gratian made him *Præfæctus Prætorio*; which office he had twice, first for Italy and Africa, and afterwards for the Gauls. He was at length declared consul, at which time Juvenal's maxim was again verified,  
That,

That, when fortune pleases, she makes a consul of a rhetorician.

*Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul.*

The emperor, in conferring that dignity upon him, forgot nothing that could exalt the favour, by the obliging and generous manner of doing it. To know how to improve gifts and graces thus is a science worthy of a prince. He immediately dispatched a courier to Ausonius with advice of his being nominated consul, and wrote to him in these terms: "When I considered some time ago about the creation of consuls for this year, I implored the assistance of God, as you know it is my custom to do in whatever I undertake, and as I know it is your desire that I should. I believed it incumbent on me to nominate you First consul, and that God required that acknowledgment from me of the good instructions I have received from you. I therefore pay you what I owe you, and, as I am sensible that we can never sufficiently discharge our obligations to our parents and masters, I confess myself still no less in your debt than I was before."

Auson. in  
Grat. act.

That nothing might be wanting to the favour he did him, he accompanied this letter with the present of a very rich robe, in which the figure of the emperor Constantius his father-in-law was embroidered in gold. Ausonius, on his side, employed the whole force and delicacy of his genius in praising his august benefactor both in verse and prose. His oration of thanks to the emperor is still extant, and has been highly esteemed. There is a great deal of wit in it, perhaps too much; with fine and solid thoughts, and sprightly turns, but often far fetched and too much studied. The Latinity of it is hard, and speaks the age in which the author lived. That the reader may have some idea of his stile, I shall repeat here the

beginning of this speech, which he pronounced before the emperor :

*Ago tibi gratias, Imperator Auguste: si possem, etiam referrem. Sed nec tua fortuna desiderat remunerandi vices, nec nostra suggerit restituendi facultatem. Privatorum ista copia est inter se esse munificos. Tua beneficia, ut majestate præcellunt, ita mutuum non reposcunt. Quod solum igitur nostræ opis est, gratias ago, verum ita, ut apud Deum fieri solet, sentiendo copiosius, quam loquendo; atque non in sacrario modo Imperialis oraculi, qui locus horrore tranquillo & pavore venerabili rarò eundem animum præstat & vultum: Sed usquequaque gratias ago, tum tacens, tum loquens; tum in cætu hominum, tum ipse mecum; & cùm voce potui & cùm meditatione secessi; omni loco, actu, habitu, & tempore. Nec mirum, si ego terminum non statuo tam grata profitendi cùm tu finem facere nescias honorandi. Qui enim locus est, aut dies, qui non me hujus aut similis gratulationis admoneat! Admoneat autem! O inertiam significationis ignavæ! Quis, inquam, locus est, qui non beneficiis tuis agitet, inflammet?*

There is an extreme inequality in the works of Ausonius. His stile is stiff and hard, as I have already observed; but that stiffness, that roughness, is the least fault of his poems. The obscenities with which they abound forbid the reading of them to every body that has not renounced all shame.

### ST. PAULINUS.

St. PAULINUS, Bishop of Nola, was born at Bourdeaux about the year 353. The celebrated Ausonius, of whom I spoke last, was his master in profane learning. St. Paulinus declares more than once that he was indebted for every thing to Ausonius, whom he calls his patron, master, father, and to whom he acknowledges himself indebted for the progress he had made in learning, and his elevation to offices and dignities :

*Tibi*



*Tibi disciplinas, dignitatem, litteras,  
Linguae, & togæ, & famæ decus,  
Provectus, altus, institutus debeo,  
Patrone, præceptor, parens.* Carm. 10.

He made a great progress under such a master. Ausonius congratulates him upon it in several of his poems, and owns, which is no small thing for a poet to allow, that his disciple carries the bays by his verses against him:

*Cedimus ingenio, quantum præcedimus ævo.  
Assurgit Musæ nostra Camæna tuæ.*

Auson. Epist. 20.

The retirement of St. Paulinus, who went into Spain to hide himself in solitude, drew upon him violent reproaches from Ausonius. That worldly man wrote him many letters to complain of his injurious state of oblivion, in which he flies out against his Tanaquil; by which odious name he means his wife Theresia, to whom he imputes that change. He accused his disciple of having lost his former good-nature, and of being become morose and an hater of mankind. He ascribes to him, in terms sufficiently express, a mind perverted by spleen and melancholy, that induced him to fly the society and commerce of men: the reproach usually made by persons of the world to those who quit it.

I d. Epist.  
24 and 25.

Divine Providence prevented him from receiving any of these letters, till he was strong enough to resist the snares which the devil laid for him by the hand of a late esteemed and much beloved master. At the end of four years, he received three of them, which he answered by several on his side.

After having explained the reason of his long silence, he excuses himself from resuming the study of profane poetry, which did not suit a person like him, who had devoted his thoughts solely to God:

## OF LATIN POETS.

*Quid abdicatas, in meam curam, pater,  
Redire Musas præcipis?  
Negant Camænis, nec patent Apollini  
Dicata Christo pectora.*

He says that he is now no longer to invoke Apollo and the muses, divinities impotent and deaf; that a God more powerful has taken possession of his mind, and requires other sentiments and a different language from him:

*Nunc alia mentem vis agit, major Deus,  
Aliosque more posulat.*

He afterwards describes the wonderful change operated by grace in the heart of man, when it has seized it by right of conquest, and has entirely subjected it to itself, in making it by a chaste and pure joy lose all taste for its former pleasures and worldly delights; in extinguishing all the pains and disquiet of the present life by a lively faith and hope of future happiness, and in leaving it no other care, than to employ itself with its God; in contemplating his wonderful works, in studying his holy will, and endeavouring with all the powers of the soul to render him an homage worthy of him by an undivided love that knows no bounds:

*Hic ergo nostra ut suum præcordiis  
Vibraverit celo jubar,  
Abstergit ægrum corporis pigri situm  
Habitumque mentis innovat.  
Exhaurit omne quod juvabat antea,  
Caste voluptatis vice.  
Totoque nostra jure domini vindicat  
Et corda, & ora, & tempora.  
Se cogitari, intelligi, credi, legi,  
Se vult timeri & diligere.  
Æstus inanes, quos movet vitæ labor  
Præsentis ævi tramite,  
Abolet futuræ cum Deo vitæ fides, &c.*

To

To all this he adds a strong protestation never to be wanting to what his obligations to Ausonius required of him.

The praises, which Ausonius gives St. Paulinus in many places, seem rather to regard the poems he composed before his renouncing the profane muses, than those he wrote after. For, after so uncommon and generous an abdication, he studied to extinguish the greatest part of his fire; and, having stifled in himself all desire of worldly reputation, he checked and neglected his wit and stile, and confined himself within the bounds of a simplicity averse to all pride, and such as the Christian modesty requires. He carried this departure from the poet so far, as to disregard even the rules of prosody. But with all the air of negligence, that appears no less in his versification than even in the stile in general of his poems, we always find certain natural charms and beauties, which make us love the author and his works.

#### ST. PROSPER.

St. PROSPER was of Aquitaine. He was married and a layman, and Secretary of the Briefs to St. Leo the Pope.

Besides several other little pieces, which are dubious, we have a considerable poem of St. Prosper's against the ungrateful, that is to say against the enemies of the grace of Jesus Christ; wherein, as a profound theologist, he explains the doctrine of the Church against the Pelagians and Semipelagians.

Mr. Godeau, after many other authors, judges this work an abridgement of all St. Augustin's books upon this subject, and particularly of those which he wrote against Julian. He adds, that the expressions are wonderful, and that, in many places, there is reason to be amazed how it was possible for this Saint to unite the beauty of versification with the severity of his subject. What is besides surprising, in this poem, is to see the exact regularity with which  
the



the maxims of the faith are observed in it, notwithstanding the constraint of verse, and the freedom of the poetic spirit; and that the truths of religion are neither altered nor weakened by the ornaments of poetry. This poem has been translated into French verse. I shall give the preface of it a place here, which will shew both the subject of this excellent work, and the stile of its author :

P R Æ F A T I O.

Unde voluntatis sanctæ subsistat origo,  
 Unde animis pietas insit, & unde fides :  
 Adversum ingratos, falsa & virtute superbos,  
 Centenis decies versibus excolui.  
 Quos si tranquilla studeas cognoscere cura,  
 Tutus ab adverso turbine, Lector, eris.  
 Nec libertate arbitrii rapiere rebellis,  
 Ulla nec audebis dona negare Dei.  
 Sed bona quæ tibi sunt, operante fatebere Christo,  
 Non esse ex merito sumpta, sed ad meritum.

French Translation.

*Ma plume en mille Vers combattant pour la Grace,  
 A pour Dieu combattu,  
 Attaquant ces Ingrats pleins de la vaine audace  
 D'une fausse vertu.  
 J'ai fait voir d'où nos cœurs conçoivent la racine  
 D'un céleste dessein,  
 D'où la foi naît dans nous, d'où la vertu divine  
 Germe dans notre sein.  
 Si donc ton esprit calme, en lisant cet ouvrage,  
 N'y cherche que du fruit,  
 Ces Vers te sauveront du funeste naufrage  
 Où l'erreur nous conduit.  
 Tu n'eleveras point contre ton Roi suprême  
 Ta fière liberté,  
 Et tu ne croiras point mériter par toi-même  
 Les dons de sa bonté.*

*Mais*

*Mais tu reconnoitras que tu dois toute chose  
 Au Dieu qui t'est si doux ;  
 Et que notre mérite est l'effet, non la cause  
 De sa Grace dans nous,*

*The same in English.*

Whence *holiness of will* derives its birth,  
 Whence *piety and faith* illumine earth,  
 'Gainst men Ungrateful, of *false virtue* vain,  
 I sing : a thousand verses form the strain.  
 If, reader, to such knowledge you aspire,  
 Search here, and gratify thy good desire.  
 From *frantic error* save, the growth of pride,  
 These, if you study well, will be your guide :  
 Nor wilt thou dare against the *God of Grace*  
*Rebellious human liberty* to place :  
 Nor wilt thou any of his *gifts* disown ;  
 Nor think you *merit*, but by *Him alone* :  
*Whate'er is good in thee* thou here wilt trace,  
 Not as *the cause*, but *the effect*, of *Grace*.

### SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS.

C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius was born at Lyons. His father was *præfektus prætorio*, and son-in-law of the emperor Avitus.

We have twenty-four of his poems, which are usually printed with the nine books of his epistles. The age in which he lived is an excuse for the hardness and obscurity of his style, and the false quantities of his verses.

He renounced poetry with secular things, and composed no verses after he was made bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, which happened in the year 472.

### AVIENUS.

RUFUS FESTUS AVIENUS lived in the reign of Theodosius the elder. This author translated the  
*Phæno-*

## OF LATIN POETS.

*Phænomena* of Aratus, and the *Περὶ ἡρώσεως* of Dionysius, that is to say, his description of the earth, into Latin verse. He had also turned all Livy into Iambics: a work useless enough, and of which the loss is only to be regretted, *as it contained the substance of that excellent historian's matter not come down to us.* There are fables of his extant, which he made into elegiac verse from Æsop, and dedicated to Theodosius, who is in reality Macrobius: they are infinitely remote from the purity, beauty, and elegance of Phædrius.

## BOETIUS.

BOETIUS (*Anicius Manlius Severinus Boetius*) was sole consul in the year 510.

What verses this great man made are inserted in his five books *De consolatione Philosophiæ*, which he composed in the prison, where Theodoric king of the Goths, whose prime minister he was, confined him. His prose, which is not the most excellent, seemed to have contributed, like shades in painting, to exalt the beauties of his poetry, that abounds with grave sentences and fine thoughts.

## FORTUNATUS.

FORTUNATUS was born in the marquisate of Trevisano. He was made bishop of Poitiers, and died about the beginning of the seventh century.

He is one of the most considerable of the antient Christian poets. We have eleven books of his miscellaneous poems in Lyric and Elegiac verse, and four of the life of St. Martin in Hexameters. The merit of his verses is to be judged from the age in which he lived.



## CHAPTER II.

### OF HISTORIANS.

**H**ISTORY has with reason been called the evidence of time, the light of truth, the school of virtue, the depository of events, and, if the expression may be allowed, the faithful messenger of antiquity. And indeed it opens to our view the vast series of all past ages, and brings them in a manner down to our own times. It makes conquerors, heroes, princes, and all other great personages, appear before us; but without the pompous train which attended them during their lives, and reduced to their own persons, in order to render an account of their actions at the tribunal of posterity, and submit to a judgment in which flattery has no longer any part, because they have no longer any power.

History has also the privilege of approaching the thrones of the princes that reign, and is almost the only counsellor, who either can or dare impart truth to them, and even shew them their faults, if they have any, but under foreign names, to spare their delicacy, and to render its advice useful by avoiding to give them offence. It is no less intent upon the instruction of private persons. It sets before all in general, of whatsoever age or condition they be, both the models of virtue they are to follow, and the examples they ought to shun.

It is easy to conceive, that history, whilst artless and rude in its infancy, was not capable of rendering these important services to mankind. It contented itself at first with preserving the remembrance of events by carving them upon stone and brass, in fixing them by inscriptions, by inserting  
them

them into public registers, and by consecrating them in some measure in hymns and songs of religion. It rose by degrees, till at length it attained that height of perfection to which the Greek and Latin writers carried it.

I shall say nothing of the history of the people of God composed by Moses, the most antient and venerable of all histories: neither shall I speak of several historians, whose names only, or at most some small fragments of their writings, have come down to us. I shall confine myself here to the Greek and Latin historians, whose works, either in the whole or in part, are still extant. As I have taken care to quote them exactly in my Antient History, and they are my authorities for what I advance there, it seemed necessary, that such of my readers as have not been conversant with them, should have some small knowledge of them, and know at least the times in which they lived, the principal circumstances of their lives, the works they composed, and the judgment passed on them by the Learned.

## ARTICLE I.

*Of the Greek Historians.*

### SECT. I.

#### HERODOTUS.

A. M.

3520.

Ant. J. C.

484.

Suidas.

**H**ERODOTUS was of Halicarnassus, a city of Caria. He was born the same year Artemisia queen of Caria died, and four years before the descent of Xerxes upon Greece. Seeing his country oppressed by the tyranny of Lygdamis, Artemisia's grandson, he quitted it, and retired into the isle of Samos, where he learnt the Ionic dialect perfectly:

It was in this dialect he composed his history in nine books. He begins it at Cyrus, according to him,

him, first king of Persia, and continues it to the battle of Mycale, fought in the eighth year of Xerxes, which includes an hundred and twenty years under four kings of Persia, Cyrus, Cambyfes, Darius, and Xerxes, from the year of the world 3405 to 3524. Besides the history of the Greeks and Persians, which are his principal subjects, he treats that of several other nations, as the Egyptians, which takes up his second book. In the work of his which we have, he Lib. 1. cites his histories of the Assyrians and Arabians; but c. 184. nothing of them is come down to us, and it is even doubted whether he finished them, because they are not mentioned by any author. The life of Homer, ascribed to Herodotus, is not believed to be his.

Herodotus, in order to make himself known to all Greece at one and the same time, chose to make his appearance when it was assembled at the Olympic games, and read his history there, which was received with exceeding applauses. The stile in which it is written seemed so sweet and flowing, that the audience thought they heard the muses themselves; and that from thenceforth occasioned the names of the muses to be given to the nine books of which it consists. Suidas.

It appears, that he gave a particular reading of his work to the city of Athens, which well deserved that distinction: this was at the celebrated feast of the *Panathenæa*. It is easy to judge how highly an history, composed with so much art and eloquence, must have pleased such refined and delicate ears, and wits so curious, and of so exquisite a taste, as those of the Athenians.

It is believed to have been rather at this assembly, than the Olympic games, that Thucydides, then very young, perhaps about fifteen, was so much affected with the beauty of this history, that he was seized with a kind of transport and enthusiasm, and shed tears of joy in abundance. Herodotus perceived it, and complimented Olorus, the Marcellin. de vit. Thucyd. Suidas. father



father of the youth, upon that occasion; exhorting him in the strongest terms to take particular care of his son, who already shewed so extraordinary a taste for polite learning, and who might one day be the honour of Greece. Great persons cannot be too attentive in encouraging young men by just praises, in whom they observe fine talents and generous inclinations. It is perhaps to these few words of Herodotus that the world is indebted for the admirable history of Thucydides.

I have said, that Thucydides might be about fifteen, when he was present at the reading of Herodotus's history at Athens. Suidas says, that he was then only a child, or rather very young, *ἔτι πᾶσις*. As he was born but thirteen years after Herodotus, the latter himself in consequence could not at that time be above twenty-eight, which highly adds to the merit of that author, who at that age had composed so valuable a work.

Herodotus, crowned with glory, thought of returning into his own country, whither the heart always recalls us. When he arrived there, he exhorted the people to expel the tyrant that oppressed them, and to reinstate themselves in the possession of their liberty, dearer to the Greeks than life itself. His remonstrances had all the success that could be expected, but met with no other reward than ingratitude, through the envy so glorious and successful an enterprise drew upon him. He was obliged to quit an ungrateful country, and thought proper to take the advantage of an opportunity that offered itself very favourably. The Athenians were at this time sending a colony to Thurium, in that part of Italy called Græcia major, to inhabit and re-people that city. He joined this colony, and went with it to settle at Thurium, where he ended his days. Thurium was the antient Sybaris, or at least that city was built in the neighbourhood of Sybaris, and the remaining people of that  
antient

antient place, ruined by the Crotoniatæ, were settled there.

I defer speaking of the judgment to be passed on Herodotus, till I have gone through the article of Thucydides, in order to compare them with each other.

## S E C T. II.

## T H U C Y D I D E S.

**T**HE birth of Thucydides is dated in the 77<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, thirteen years after that of Herodotus.

A. M.

3553.

Ant. J. C.

471.

Marcellin.  
de vit.

Thucyd.

Suidas.

His father was Olorus (so called from a king of Thrace) and his mother Hegesipyle. One of his ancestors was the antient Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, the founder of the kingdom of the Thracian Chersonesus, who having retired into Thrace by the consent of Pisistratus, there married Hegesipyle the daughter of Olorus king of Thrace, whose daughter of the same name was very probably the mother of our historian.

He studied rhetoric under Antiphon, and philosophy under Anaxagoras. He speaks of the first in his eighth book, and says that he was for abolishing the popular government, and establishing that of the Four Hundred at Athens.

Thucyd.

l. 8. p. 592.

We have already said, that at the age of fifteen he had heard Herodotus's history read with extreme pleasure, either at Olympia, or Athens.

A. M.

3548.

Ant. J. C.

456.

As he had a violent inclination for study, he had no thoughts of concerning himself in the administration of the public affairs, and only took care to form himself in the military exercises that suited a young man of his birth. He was employed in the army, and made some campaigns.

At twenty-seven he was joined in commission for conducting and settling a new colony of Athenians

A. M.

3560.

Ant. J. C.

at 444.

at Thurium. He passed three or four years in that employment, after which he returned to Athens.

He then married a very rich wife of Thrace, who had a great number of mines in that country. By this marriage his circumstances were very easy, and supplied him with the means of expending considerable sums. We shall soon see the good use he made of this advantage.

A. M. In the mean time the Peloponnesian war broke  
 3573. out, and occasioned great revolutions and troubles  
 Ant. J. C. in Greece. Thucydides, who foresaw that it would  
 431. be of long duration, and attended with important  
 Thucyd. events, formed from the first the design of writing  
 l. 5. p. 561. the history of is. It was necessary for this purpose  
 to have the most faithful and certain accounts, and  
 to be informed to the most minute circumstances  
 of all that passed on both sides in every expedition  
 and campaign. And this he effected in an admirable  
 manner that has few examples.

A. M. As he served in the troops of Athens, he was an  
 3580. eye-witness of what passed in the army of the Athe-  
 Ant. J. C. nians, till the eighth year of that war, that is to say,  
 424. till the time of his banishment, of which this was  
 Thucyd. the occasion: He had been commanded to go to the  
 l. 4. p. 321. relief of Amphipolis upon the frontiers of Thrace,  
 a place of great importance to both parties. Brasidas,  
 general of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither first,  
 and took the place. Thucydides on his side took Eione  
 upon the river Strymon. This advantage, which was  
 inconsiderable to Athens in comparison with the loss  
 of Amphipolis, was looked upon as nothing. His  
 having failed of relieving Amphipolis, through want  
 of expedition, was made a crime, and the people, at  
 the instigation of Cleon, punished his pretended  
 fault by a sentence of banishment.

Thucydides made his disgrace conduce to the  
 preparation and execution of the great design he  
 had formed of composing the history of this war. He  
 employed



employed the whole time of his banishment, which continued twenty years, in collecting his materials with more diligence than ever. His residing from thenceforth sometimes in the country of Sparta, and sometimes in that of Athens, extremely facilitated the inquiries he had to make. He spared no expence for that purpose, and made great presents to the officers on both sides, in order to his being informed of all that passed in the two armies. He had taken the same method whilst in the service.

The Athenians, after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants by Thrasybulus, permitted all the exiles to return, except the Pisistratides. Thucydides took the benefit of this decree, and returned to Athens, after a banishment of twenty years, at the age of sixty-eight. It was not till then, according to Mr. Dodwell, that Thucydides actually applied himself to the composition of his history, of which he had hitherto been collecting and disposing the materials with incredible care. His subject, as I have already observed, was the famous Peloponnesian war, which continued twenty-seven years. He carried it down no farther than the twenty-first inclusively. The six years which remained were supplied by Theopompus and Xenophon. He used the Attic dialect in his history, as the purest and most elegant, and at the same time the most nervous and emphatical: besides which it was the idiom of Athens, his country. He tells us himself, that, in writing it, his view was not to please, but to instruct his readers. For which reason he does not call his history a work composed for ostentation, ἀγώνισμα; but a monument to endure for ever, κτῆμα ἐς αἰῶν. He divides it regularly by years and campaigns. There is a French translation of this excellent historian by Mr. D. Ablancourt.

A. M.

3601.

Ant. J. C.

403.

Thucyd.

l. 1. p. 15.

and 16.

Thucydides is believed to have lived thirteen years after his return from banishment, and the end of the Peloponnesian war. He died at the age of four-

A. M.  
3613.  
Ant. J. C.  
391.  
In vit.  
Cim.  
P. 480.

score and upwards, at Athens according to some, and in Thrace according to others, from whence his bones were brought to Athens. Plutarch says, that the tomb of Thucydides was shewn in his time within the monument of Cimon's family.

*Comparison of Herodotus and Thucydides.*

DIONYSIUS of HALICARNASSUS, an excellent historian and critic, in a letter to Pompey the Great, compares Herodotus and Thucydides, the two most esteemed of the Greek historians, and expresses his judgment of them, as well in respect to history itself, as the stile they use. I shall repeat in this place the principal strokes of this short dissertation: but we must remember that our critic is of Halicarnassus as well as Herodotus, which may perhaps give room to suspect him of some partiality to his countryman.

*I. Matter of History considered.*

The first duty of an author, who intends to compose an history, and to transmit the knowledge and remembrance of past actions to posterity, is, in my opinion, to make choice of a subject great, noble, and affecting; which, by the variety and importance of facts, may render the reader attentive, and keep him always in a kind of busy suspense; and lastly, engross and please him by the nature itself of the events, and the good success that terminates them.

Herodotus may indisputably in this point be said to take place of Thucydides. Nothing could be more agreeable and affecting than the subject chosen by the former. It is all Greece, jealous to the degree every body knows she was of her liberty, attacked by the most formidable power of the universe, which, with innumerable forces by sea and land, undertakes to crush and reduce her into slavery. It is nothing but victories upon victories, as well by sea as land, gained over the Persians by the Greeks, who, without mentioning the moral virtues carried

carried to the highest degree of perfection, shew all the valour, prudence, and military abilities, that can be expected from the greatest of captains. In fine, this war, so long and terrible, in which all Asia, departing out of herself and overflowing like a deluge, seems to make the total destruction of the little country of Greece inevitable, terminates with the shameful flight of Xerxes, the most powerful king of the earth, who is reduced to escape in a little boat, and with a success that extinguishes for ever in the Persians all thoughts and desires of attacking Greece again with open force.

We see nothing of this kind in the choice Thucydides has made of his subject. He confines himself to a single war, which is neither just in its principle, very various in its events, nor glorious to the Athenians in its success. It is Greece become frantic and possessed with the spirit of discord, that imbrues her hands in her own blood, arming Greeks against Greeks, allies against allies. Thucydides himself, from the beginning of his history, declares and gives his reader a view of all the evils with which that unfortunate war would be attended; slaughter of men, plundering of cities, earthquakes, droughts, famine, diseases, plagues, pestilence, in a word, the most dreadful calamities. What a beginning, what a prospect, is this! Is there any thing more capable of disgusting and shocking the reader?

Such is the first reflection of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which, in my opinion, does not at all affect the merit of the writer. The choice of the matter, and the glorious success of a war, do not depend upon an author cotemporary with his subject, who is not master of his events, and who neither can nor ought to write any thing but what happens. He is unfortunate in being the witness of none but deplorable facts, but not the less excellent for that reason; which is at most a reproach that will lie only against a Tragic or Epic poet, who dis-



poses his matter at his own discretion. But, as to an author, who writes the history of his own times, we have no right to require any thing of him, but that he should be true, judicious, and impartial. Is the sole end of history to delight the reader? Ought it not rather to instruct him, and are not the great calamities, which are the necessary effects of bad passions and injustice, highly useful for teaching mankind to avoid them?

In the second place, it is very important for a writer to make a good choice of his point of view, in order to know where he is to begin, and how far carry on, his history. And in this Herodotus has succeeded wonderfully. He begins with relating the cause of the war declared by the Persians against Greece, which is the desire to revenge an injury \* received above two hundred years before; and he concludes the relation of it with the exemplary punishment of the Barbarians. The taking of Troy could at most be only the pretext of this war, and what a pretext was it! The real cause was undoubtedly the ambition of the kings of Persia, and the desire of avenging themselves upon the Greeks for the aid they gave the Ionians. As for Thucydides, he begins his history with describing the unhappy situation of the affairs of the Greeks at that time; a first prospect little agreeable and affecting. He expressly imputes the cause of this war to the city of Athens, though he might have ascribed it to the envy of Sparta, its rival from the time of the glorious exploits by which the Athenians had so highly distinguished themselves in the war with the Persians.

This second reflection of our critic seems still worse founded than the first. Thucydides might have advanced this pretext, but I don't know whether he could have done it with truth and justice: or rather one may positively affirm, that he could

\* *The destruction of Troy by the Greeks, which city was in alliance with Persia.*

not advance it with any face of reason whatsoever. It is certain, if we may believe Plutarch, that the cause of the war ought to be imputed to the unbounded ambition of the Athenians, who affected universal dominion. It is noble in Thucydides to have sacrificed the glory of his country to the love of truth: a quality in which the most essential merit and highest praise of an historian consist.

Thirdly, Herodotus, who knew that a long relation of the same matter, how agreeable soever it might be, would disgust and become tedious to the reader, has varied his work, after the manner of Homer, by episodes and digressions, which add much to its beauty, and the reader's pleasure. Thucydides, on the contrary, is always uniform and in the same tone, and pursues his subject without giving himself time to take breath; heaping up battles upon battles, preparations upon preparations, harangues upon harangues; parcelling out, to use that expression, actions by campaigns, which might have been shewn in all their extent with more grace and perspicuity.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis seems here not to have had sufficient attention to the laws of history, and to have almost believed, that an historian might be judged of in the same manner as a poet. Many people blame Herodotus for his long and frequent digressions, as a considerable defect in point of history. I am far from agreeing with this opinion. They must have been very agreeable to the Greeks, at a time when the history of those different nations, of which they treat, was entirely unknown to them. But I am still farther from blaming the plan and conduct of Thucydides, who hardly ever loses sight of his subject: for this is one of the principal rules of history, from which a writer ought never to depart, without the justest reasons.

Fourthly, Thucydides is religiously attached to truth, which ought to be the foundation of history;

and, which is certainly the first and most essential quality of an historian, inserts nothing of fabulous in his work, has no regard to embellishing and enlivening it by relating facts and events of the marvellous kind, and does not, upon every occasion, introduce the gods and goddesses, acting by dreams, oracles, and prodigies. In this he is indisputably superior to Herodotus, who is little delicate and cautious in respect to many facts which he advances, and is generally credulous even to weakness and superstition.

Fifthly, If we may believe Dionysius of Halicarnassus, there is in the writings of Thucydides a gloominess of character, and a natural roughness of humour, which his banishment had sharpened and exasperated. He is most exact in noting all the faults and wrong measures of the generals; and, if he sometimes remarks their good qualities and successes, for he often passes them over in silence, he seems to do it with regret and against his will.

I do not know whether this censure be well founded; but my reading of Thucydides gave me no such idea of him. I perceived indeed that his matter was sad and gloomy, but not the historian. Dionysius of Halicarnassus discerns a quite different temper in Herodotus, that is to say, a character of kindness and good-nature always equal to itself, with an extreme sensibility for the good and bad fortune of his country.

### *2. Elocution considered.*

Several things may be considered in respect to elocution:

Purity, propriety, and elegance of language. These qualities are common to both our historians, who equally excelled in them, but always in adhering



hering to the noble simplicity of nature. \* It is remarkable, says Cicero, that these two authors, who were cotemporary with the sophists, that had introduced a florid, trim, formal, artificial stile, and whom Socrates for that reason called *λογοδαίδαλεις*, never gave into those minute or rather frivolous ornaments.

Diffusion or brevity of stile. These particularly distinguish and characterise them. The stile of Herodotus is sweet, flowing, and more diffuse; that of Thucydides lively, concise, and vehement.

“ The one, to use Cicero’s words, is like a calm stream, whose waves flow with Majesty; the other like an impetuous torrent; and, when he speaks of war, we seem to hear the trumpet sound.

*Alter sine ullis salebris quasi sedatus amnis fluit: alter incitator fertur, & de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodammodo bellicum.* “ Thucydides is so full of things,

“ that with him the thoughts are almost equal in number to the words; and at the same time he is so just and close in his expressions, that one cannot tell whether it be the words that adorn the thoughts, or the thoughts the words.”

*Qui (Thucydides) ita creber est rerum frequentia, ut verborum propè numerum sententiarum numero consequatur: ita porro verbis aptus & pressus, ut nescias utrum res oratione, an verba sententiis illustrentur.* This close, and in a manner abrupt, stile is wonderfully proper for giving strength and energy to discourse, but is generally attended with abundance of obscurity.

And this is what has happened to Thucydides, especially in his harangues, which in many places are almost unintelligible: *Ipse illæ conciones ita multas habent obscuras abditaſque sententias, vix ut intelligantur:* So that the reading of this author requires an

\* Sophistas *λογοδαίδαλεις* appellat in Phædro Socrates—quorum satis arguta multa, sed minuta quædam—nimiumque depicta. Quo magis sunt Herodotus Thucydidesque mirabiles: quorum ætas cum in eorum tempora, quos nominamus, incidisset, longissime tamen ipsi à talibus deliciis, vel potius ineptiis, abfuerunt. *Cic. in Orat. n. 39.*

uninterrupted attention, and becomes a serious study. For the rest, it is not surprising that Thucydides, as he alludes in his harangues to many circumstances well known in his time, and forgotten afterwards, should have obscurities in the sense of readers so many ages removed from those events. But that is not the principal cause of them.

What has been said shews what we are to think of our two historians in respect to the passions, which as, every body knows prevail in, and constitute the principal merit of, Eloquence. Herodotus succeeds in those which require sweetness and insinuation, and Thucydides in the strong and vehement passions.

Both have harangues, but they are less frequent and shorter in the first. Dionysius of Halicarnassus finds a defect in those of Thucydides, which is, that they are always in one and the same form and tone, and that the characters of the speakers are ill sustained in them; whereas Herodotus is much happier in those respects. Some persons blame harangues in history in general, and especially the direct. I have answered this objection elsewhere.

I shall conclude this article, which is become longer than I intended, with the elegant and judicious character Quintilian has drawn of our two authors, in which he includes part of what has hitherto been said: *Historiam multi scripsere, sed nemo dubitat duos longe ceteris præferendos, quorum diversa virtus laudem pene est parem consecuta. Densus, & brevis, & semper instans sibi Thucydides: dulcis, & candidus, & fusus Herodotus. Ille concitatis, hic remissis affectibus melior: ille concionibus, hic sermonibus: ille vi, hic voluptate.* “Greece has produced many  
“ famous historians; but all agree in giving the  
“ preference greatly to two of them, who by different  
“ qualities have acquired almost equal glory.  
“ Thucy-

Quintil.  
l. 10. c. 1.

“Thucydides is close, concise, and always \* hastening on to the point in view: Herodotus is sweet, perspicuous, and more diffused. The one is best for the vehement passions, the other for the soft and agreeable. The one succeeds in harangues, the other in common discourse. Force strikes us in the one, and pleasure charms us in the other.”

What, in my opinion, highly exalts the merit of Herodotus and Thucydides is, that both of them, with few models they could follow, carried history to its perfection by a different method.

The general esteem of the antients for these two authors is a circumstance highly in their favour, So many great men could hardly be mistaken in their judgment of them.

## S E C T. III.

## X E N O P H O N.

I Have else where treated with sufficient extent on all that relates to the life and works of Xenophon. I shall only say some few words of them here, to recal the reader's remembrance of them, and their dates.

Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, was born at Athens in the third year of the 82d Olympiad. He was something more than twenty years younger than Thucydides, and was a great philosopher, historian, and general.

He engaged himself in the troops of young Cyrus, who marched against his brother Artaxerxes Memon king of Persia, in order to dethrone him. This occasioned his banishment, the Athenians being at that time in amity with Artaxerxes. The retreat of the Ten Thousand under the conduct of Xenophon is known to every body, and has immortalised his fame.

\* *Instans sibi is hard to render: it means always pressing forward, hastening on to the end, tending perpetually to it, without either losing sight of it, deviating, or amusing himself in the least.*

After



After his return, he was employed in the troops of Sparta, at first in Thrace, and afterwards in Asia, till Agefilæus was recalled, whom he accompanied as far as Bœotia. He then retired to Scyllonta, where the Lacedæmonians had given him lands, situated at no great distance from the city of Elis.

He was not idle in his retirement. He took advantage of the leisure it afforded him to compose his histories. He began with the *Cyropædia*, which is the history of Cyrus the Great in eight books. It was followed with that of Cyrus the younger, which includes the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand, in seven books. He then wrote the Grecian history in seven books also, that begins where Thucydides left off. It contains the space of almost forty-eight years, from the return of Alcibiades into Attica, to the battle of Mantinæa. He also composed several particular tracts upon historical subjects.

His style, under an air of simplicity and natural sweetness, conceals inimitable graces, that persons of little delicacy of taste perceive and admire less, but which did not escape Cicero, and which made him say, “ That the muses seemed to speak by the  
Orat. n. 62. “ mouth of Xenophon :” *Xenophontis voce musas quasi locutas ferunt.*

Quintilian, in the praise he has left us of this author, has done little more than paraphrase that thought : *Quid ego commemorem Xenophontis jucunditatem illam inaffectatam, sed quam nulla possit affectatio consequi ? ut ipsæ finxisse sermonem Gratiæ videantur : Et, quod de Pericle veteris Comædiæ testimonium est, in hunc transferri justissimè possit, in labris ejus sedisse quandam persuadendi deam.* “ What praises does  
Lib. 10. c. 1. “ not the charming sweetness of Xenophon deserve ?  
“ so simple, so remote from all affectation, but which  
“ no affectation can ever attain. The Graces themselves seem to have composed his discourse ; and  
“ what the antient comedy said of Pericles may  
“ most

“ most justly be applied to him, that the goddess of  
 “ persuasion dwelt upon his lips.”

## S E C T. IV.

## C T E S I A S.

**C**TESIAS of Cnidos was Xenophon's contemporary. He was taken prisoner after the battle of young Cyrus with his brother Artaxerxes. Having cured the king of the wound he received in it, he practised physic in the court of Persia with great success, and continued near the person of that prince seventeen years.

He wrote the history of the Assyrians and Persians in twenty-three books. One of the fragments preserved by Photius (for we have nothing of Ctesias but fragments) informs us, that his six first books treated of the history of Assyria, and of all that had happened there before the foundation of the Persian empire: and that from the seventh to the thirteenth inclusively, he related at large the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyfes, Magus, Darius, and Xerxes. He continued the history of the Persians down to the third year of the 95th Olympiad, at which time Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Syracuse, was making great preparations of war against the Carthaginians. Photius, Diod. l. i. 14, p. 273.

He contradicts Herodotus almost in every thing, and is particularly industrious to falsify him. But his attempt has fallen upon himself, and he is regarded by all the learned as a writer full of lyes and unworthy of belief, as Aristotle calls him. He also differed very often with Xenophon in his accounts. It is surprising, that Diodorus Siculus, Trogus Pompeius, and some others, have chosen to follow Ctesias rather than Herodotus, and even than Xenophon. They were no doubt deceived by the assurance with which he affirms, that he advanced nothing in his writings, of which he was not either an eye-witness

witness himself, had been informed by the Persians concerned, or had extracted out of their archives.

## S E C T. V.

## P O L Y B I U S.

**I** Have already spoken of this celebrated historian in several parts of my history, which I shall content myself with observing, and shall only add in this place what seems most necessary for giving the reader some idea of the character, actions, and works of this great man. His life, of sufficient extent and very well written, may be found in the front of the Chevalier Folard's translation of Polybius, of which I shall make great use, but not without abridging it considerably.

A. M. Polybius was of Megalopolis, a city of Peloponnesus in Arcadia. He came into the world about  
3800.  
Ant. J. C. the 548th year from the foundation of Rome. His  
204. father's name was Lycortas, famous for his constancy in supporting the interests of the Achæan league, whilst under his government.

He was educated, like all the children of his nation, in the highest veneration for the Divinity: a pious opinion, in which the Arcadians placed their principal glory, and in which he persevered with so much constancy during his whole life, that few profane authors have thought more religiously, or spoke with more dignity, of the Godhead than him.

Lycortas his father, a profound statesman, was his master in politics; as Philopæmen, one of the greatest and most intrepid captains of the antient world, was in war. He reduced to practice the excellent lessons they had taught him, in the different negotiations and affairs wherein he was employed either jointly with his father or alone, especially during the war of the Romans with Perseus the last king of Macedonia, as I have observed in its place.

The



The Romans, after the defeat of that prince, in order to humble and punish such of the Achæans as had been most warm in supporting the Achæan league, and had seemed most averse to their views and interests, carried away a thousand of them to Rome : of which number was Polybius.

During his stay there, whether his reputation had reached thither before him, or his birth and merit had made the greatest persons of Rome desire his acquaintance, he soon acquired the friendship of Q. Fabius, and of Scipio the younger, both sons of Paulus Æmilius, the one adopted by Q. Fabius, and the other by P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of the first Scipio Africanus. He either lent them his own, or borrowed books for them of others, and conversed with them upon the subjects of which they treated. Charmed equally with his great qualities, they prevailed with the prætor, that he should not leave Rome with the rest of the Achæans. What passed at that time between young Scipio, who was but eighteen, and Polybius, and which made way for the great intimacy they afterwards contracted, is, in my opinion, a most affecting piece of history, and may be of great instruction to young nobility. I have related this circumstance at the end of the history of the Carthaginians.

It is evident that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or at least collected his materials for it, at Rome. For where could he be better informed of the events which had passed, either during the whole course of the second Punic war, than in the house of the Scipio's ; or during the campaigns against Perseus, than in that of Paulus Æmilius ? The same may be said in respect to all the foreign affairs, which occurred either whilst he was at Rome, or accompanied Scipio. As he was upon the spot either to see with his own eyes, or to receive news from the best hand, he could not fail of  
being

being exactly informed of every thing most memorable that happened.

A. M.

3854.

Ant. J. C.

150.

The Achæans, after many fruitless applications to the senate, at length obtained the return of their exiles: their number was then reduced to three hundred. Polybius did not use this permission to go home to Megalopolis, or, if he did, it was not long before he rejoined Scipio, as he was with him three years after at the siege of Carthage. After this expedition, he made some voyages upon account of the history he had always in view. But how great was his grief, when in returning into Peloponnesus he saw Corinth burnt and demolished, his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and obliged to submit to the laws of a foreign magistrate to be sent thither every year from Rome. If any thing could console him in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity his credit with the Romans gave him of obtaining some mitigations of the misfortunes of his country, and the occasion he had of defending the memory of Philopæmen, his master in the art of war, whose statues some were for pulling down. I have related this fact.

Vol. IX.

A. M.

3877.

Ant. J. C.

127.

Lucian. in  
Macrobian.

p. 642.

A. M.

3883.

Ant. J. C.

121.

After having rendered his country many services, he returned to Scipio at Rome, from whence he followed him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio died, he retired into Greece; (for what security could there be for Polybius at Rome, after Scipio had been put to death by the faction of the Gracchi?) and, having enjoyed during six years, in the bosom of his country, the esteem, gratitude, and affection of his dear citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse.

His principal works are, the life of Philopæmen; a treatise upon the Tactics, or the art of drawing up armies in battle; the history of the Numantian war, of which Cicero speaks in his letter to Lucceius; and his universal history. Of all these works  
only

only the last remains, and that very imperfect. Polybius himself calls it *Universal History*, not in respect of times, but of places, because it contained not only the wars of the Romans, but all that passed in the known world during the space of fifty-three years, that is to say, from the beginning of the second Punic war to the reduction of the kingdom of Macedonia into a province of the Roman empire.

No history presents us, in so short a space of time, with so great a diversity of events, all of them decisive and of the last importance: The second Punic war between the two most powerful and warlike people of the earth, which at first brought Rome to the very brink of destruction, and then, by a very surprising reverse of fortune, reduced the power of Carthage, and prepared the way for its final ruin: The war with Philip, whom the antient glory of the Macedonian kings, and the name of Alexander the Great, still dreadful in some sense, rendered formidable: The war with Antiochus, the most opulent king of Asia, who drew after him great armies both by sea and land; and that with the Ætolians, his allies, a warlike people, who pretended to give place to no nation in valour and bravery: And lastly, the last Macedonian war with Perseus, which gave the fatal blow to that empire once so terrible, and for which the whole earth was too narrow. All these events within the space of little more than fifty years, gave the wondering world a sense of the Roman greatness, and shewed it that Rome was destined to command all the nations of the Universe. Could Polybius desire a greater, more magnificent, or more affecting subject of history?

All the facts which happened in this space of time, composed thirty-eight books, in the front of which he had placed two, by way of introduction to the others, and of continuation to the history of Timæus. His own consisted therefore of forty books, of which we have only the five first as Polybius



lybius left them, and fragments, sometimes considerable enough, of the twelve that follow, with the *embassies* and *examples of virtue and vice*, which the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the twelfth century, caused to be extracted from Polybius's history, and to be inserted in his *Political Pandeets*; a great collection, in which all that had been written by the antient historians, upon certain matters, were disposed under their several heads, and in which the reader might see what had been done in the various cases wherein he might happen to be himself, without the trouble of reading those historians.

And this is the true use and great advantage of history, which, properly speaking, is the science of kings, generals, ministers of state, and of all who are employed in, or have any relation to, government. For men are always the same, they act in all ages upon the same principles, and the same springs almost always set states in motion, and occasion the various revolutions that happen in them. That prince was therefore very wise to conceive the design of establishing in his empire a kind of perpetual council, composed of the most prudent, the most experienced, and most profound persons of every kind, that the antient world had produced. This design, so laudable in itself, proved however the great misfortune of all succeeding ages. As soon as it became the habit to consult only these abridgments, (to which our natural indolence and sloth soon lead us) the originals were considered as useless, and no farther pains were taken to copy them. The loss of many important works are ascribed to this cause, though other circumstances no doubt contributed also to it. The abridgments themselves, of which I am speaking, are a proof of this. Of fifty heads, which they contained at first, only two are come down to us. If they had been preserved entire, they might in some manner have consoled us for the loss of the originals. But all has under-

gone

gone the common fate of human things, and leaves us only matter of regret.

What a misfortune is it, that such an history as Polybius's is lost! Who ever was so attentive and exact in assuring himself of the truth of facts as he? That he might not err in the description of places, a circumstance highly important in relating military affairs, as an attack, a siege, a battle, or a march, he went to them himself, and made a great number of voyages, with that sole view. Truth was his only view. It is from him we have this celebrated maxim, that truth is to history what eyes are to animals: that, as the latter are of no use without sight, so history without truth is only amusing and unprofitable narration. Polyb.  
l. 3. p. 13.

But the facts may here be said to be the least we have to regret. What an irreparable loss are the excellent maxims of policy, and the solid reflections of a man, who, with a natural passion for public good, had made it his whole study; who during so many years had been present in the greatest affairs; who had governed himself, and whose government had given such general satisfaction! In these the principal merit of Polybius consists, which is what a reader of taste ought principally to look for in him. For we must allow, that the reflections (I mean those of so wise a man as Polybius) are the soul of history.

His digressions are condemned. They are long and frequent, I confess; but they abound with such curious facts, and useful instructions, that we ought not only to pardon him that fault, if it be one, but think ourselves obliged to him for it. Besides which, we should remember, that Polybius undertook the universal history of his own times, as he intitles his work; which ought to suffice in vindication of his digressions.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a critic of great reputation in the antient world, has passed a judg-

ment upon our historian, which gives great reason to suspect himself, in point of criticism. Without any circumlocution he flatly tells us, that no patience is of sufficient proof to endure the reading of Polybius; and his reason for it is, because that author knows nothing of the disposition of words: that is to say, his history had not such round, flowing, numerous periods, as he uses himself, which is an essential fault, in point of history. A military, simple, negligent stile is to be pardoned in such a writer as ours, who is more attentive to things, than turns of phrase and diction. I shall make no scruple therefore to prefer the judgment of Brutus to that of this rhetorician, who far from finding it tedious to read Polybius, was continually perusing him, and made extracts from him at his leisure hours. We find him employed in this manner, the evening before the battle of Pharsalia.

Plut. in  
Brut. P.  
985.

## S E C T. VI.

## D I O D O R U S S I C U L U S.

**D**IODORUS was of Agrigum a city of Sicily, from whence he was called *Diodorus Siculus*, to distinguish him from several other authors of the same name. He lived in the time of Julius and Augustus Cæsar.

The title of his work is *The Historical Library*. It contains the history of almost all the nations of the world, whom he in a manner passes in review before his reader: Egyptians, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, and several more. It consisted of forty books, of which he gives us the plan and series in his preface. The six first, says he, contain what passed before the Trojan war, that is to say all the fabulous times; in the first three are the antiquities of the Barbarians, in the other three those of the Greeks. The  
eleven



eleven that follow contain the history of all nations from the Trojan war to the death of Alexander the Great inclusively. In the other twenty-three this general history is continued down to the beginning of the war with the Gauls, in which Julius Cæsar, after having subjected many very warlike nations of Gaul, extended the limits of the Roman empire to the British isles.

Of these forty books, only fifteen remain, with some fragments, most of them preserved by Photius, and the extracts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The five first follow each other in their order.

In the first, Diodorus treats of the origin of the world, and of what relates to Egypt.

In the second, of the first kings of Asia, from Ninus to Sardanapalus: of the Medes, Indians, Scythians, and Arabians.

In the third, of the Æthiopians and Libyans.

In the fourth, of the fabulous history of the Greeks.

In the fifth, of the fabulous history of Sicily and the other islands.

The sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth books are lost.

The following seven, from the eleventh to the seventh inclusively, contain the history of ninety years, from the expedition of Xerxes into Greece to the death of Alexander the Great.

The three following, the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth, treat of the disputes and wars of Alexander's successors down to the disposition of the two armies for the battle of Ipsus; and there ends what remains of the history of Diodorus Siculus, in a very important part of it, and at the moment a battle is going to be fought, which decides the fate of Alexander's successors.

In these last ten books, which properly include the continued history of the Persians, Greeks, and Macedonians, Diodorus introduces also the history

of other nations, and in particular that of the Romans, according as its events concur with his principal subject.

Diodorus tells us himself in his preface, that he employed thirty years in composing his history, in which his long residence at Rome was of great use to him. Besides this he ran over, not without frequent dangers, many provinces of Europe and Asia, to inform himself fully in the situation of the cities and other places of which he was to treat: which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the perfection of history.

His stile is neither elegant nor florid, but simple, clear, and intelligible: that simplicity has however nothing low and creeping in it.

Diod. l. 1. 20. Though he does not approve interrupting the  
p. 749. thread of history with frequent and long harangues, he does not entirely reject the use of them, and believes they may be employed with great propriety, when the importance of the subject requires it.

Diod. l. 1. 13. After the defeat of Nicias, the Syracusans deliberated in their assembly upon the treatment it was  
p. 149— proper to give the Athenian prisoners. Diodorus  
161. repeats the harangues of two orators, which are long and very fine, especially the first.

Neither his chronology, nor the names either of the archons of Athens, or of the consuls and military tribunes of Rome, into which many errors have crept, are to be relied on.

Very solid and judicious reflections occur from time to time in this history. He takes particular care not to ascribe the success of wars, and other enterprises, to chance or blind fortune with many other historians, but to a Wisdom and Providence which presides over all events.

Every thing well weighed and considered, we ought to set a great value upon the works of Diodorus come down to us, and very much to regret the  
the

the loss of the rest, which would have afforded great light into every part of antient history.

## DIONYSIUS of HALICARNASSUS.

The historian of whom we now speak, apprises us himself, in the preface of his work, that there is little known of his person and history. He was a native of Halicarnassus, a city of Caria in Asia Minor, the country of the great Herodotus. His father's name was Alexander, of whom nothing more is known.

He arrived in Italy about the middle of the CLXXXVIIth Olympiad, at the time Augustus Cæsar terminated the civil war with Antony. He remained twenty-two years at Rome, which he employed in attaining the Latin tongue with great exactness, in studying the literature and writings of the Romans, and especially in carefully collecting materials for the work he had in view: for that seems to have been the motive of his voyage.

In order to succeed the better in it, he contracted a great intimacy with all the most learned persons of Rome, with whom he frequently conversed. To their informations by word of mouth, which were of great use to him, he added a close application to the study of the Roman historians in greatest esteem, as Cato, Fabius Pictor, Valerius Antias, and Licinius Macer, who are often quoted by Livy.

When he believed himself sufficiently informed in all that was necessary to the execution of his design, he applied himself to it. The title of his work is *The Roman Antiquities*, which he called it, because, in writing the Roman history, he traces it back to its most antient origin. He continued his history down to the first Punic war, at which period he stopped, perhaps because his plan was to clear up that part of the Roman history which was least known. For, from the first Punic war, that history



had been written by cotemporary authors in every body's hands.

Of the twenty books, which compose his Roman Antiquities, we have now only the first eleven, that come down no lower than the 312th year from the foundation of Rome. The nine last, which contained all that happened to the 488th according to Cato, and the 490th according to Varro, have perished through the injuries of time. Almost as often as we speak of any antient author, we are obliged to deplore the loss of part of his works, especially when they are excellent, as were those of the writer in question.

We have also some fragments of his upon the subject of embassiet, which are only detached and very imperfect pieces. The two heads of Constantine Porphyrogenitus which remain, have also preserved several fragments of this author.

Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*, speaks of the twenty books of antiquities, as of a perfect work which he had read. He cites besides an abridgment, which Dionysius Halicarnassensis made of his history in five books. He praises it for its purity, elegance, and exactness; and makes no scruple to say, that this historian in his epitome has excelled himself.

We have two translations sufficiently recent of the history of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, which have each their merit, but of a different kind. It does not belong to me to compare them, or to give one the preference to the other. I leave that to the public, which has a right to pass judgment upon the works abandoned to it. I only propose to make great use of them in composing the Roman history.

Father Jay the Jesuit, in the preface to his translation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, gives us an idea and character of this author, to which it is hard to add any thing. I shall almost do no more than copy him, except it be in abridging him in some places.

All the writers, antient and modern, who have spoken with any judgment of his history, discover in him facility of genius, profound erudition, exact discernment, and judicious criticism. He was versed in all the liberal arts and sciences, a good Philosopher, a wise Politician, and an excellent Rhetorician. He has drawn himself in his work without designing it. We see him there a friend of truth, remote from all prejudice, temperate, zealous for religion, and a declared enemy of the impiety which denies Providence.

He does not content himself with relating the wars abroad; but describes with the same care the transactions of peace, that conduce to good order at home, and to the support of union and tranquillity amongst the citizens. He does not tire the reader with tedious narrations. If he deviates into digressions, it is always to instruct him in something new, and agreeable. He mingles his accounts with moral and political reflections, which are the soul of history, and the principal advantage to be attained from the study of it. He treats his matter with far more abundance and extent than Livy; and what the latter includes in his three first books the Greek author makes the subject of eleven.

It is certain that, without what remains of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, we should be ignorant of many things, of which Livy and other Latin historians have either neglected to inform us, or speak of very superficially. He is the only writer that has given us a perfect knowledge of the Romans, and has left posterity a circumstantial account of their ceremonies, worship, sacrifices, manners, customs, discipline, triumphs, *Comitia* or assemblies, *Census* or the numbering, assessing, and distribution of the people into tribes and classes. We are indebted to him for the laws of Romulus, Numa, and Servius Tullius, and for many things of the like nature. As he wrote his history, only to inform the  
Greeks,

Greeks, his countrymen, in the actions and manners of the Romans, which were unknown to them, he thought himself obliged to be more attentive and express upon those heads than the Latin historians, who were not in the same case with him.

As to the style which the Greek and Latin historians have used in their works, F. Jay contents himself with the judgment Henry Stephens passes upon it: "That the Roman history could not be better written than Dionysius of Halicarnassus has done it in Greek, and Livy in Latin."

For my part, I am far from subscribing to this opinion, which gives Dionysius of Halicarnassus a kind of equality with Livy, and seems to make them equal in point of style. I find an infinite difference between them in this respect. In the Latin author, the descriptions, images, and harangues, are full of beauty, force, vivacity, sublimity, and majesty: in the Greek, every thing is weak, prolix, and languid, in comparison with the other. I could wish that the limits of my work would admit me to insert here one of the finest facts in the history of antient Rome; that is the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii; and to compare the two passages together. In Livy, the reader believes himself actually present whilst they engage. At the first sight of their naked swords, the noise and clash of their arms, and the blood streaming from their wounds, he finds himself struck with horror. He shares with the Romans and Albans their different emotions of fear, hope, grief, and joy, which on both sides alternately succeed each other. He is continually in suspense, and anxiously waits the success, which is to decide the fate of the two people. The narration of Dionysius, which is much longer, gives the reader scarce any of these emotions. He runs it over in cold blood, without quitting his natural tranquillity and indifference; and is not in a manner transported out of himself by the violent agitations he



he feels from Livy, on every change that happens in the fortune of the combatants. Dionysius of Halicarnassus may have several advantages of Livy in other respects, but, in my opinion, is by no means comparable to him in respect to style.

## PHILO. APION,

PHILO was Jew of Alexandria, of the sacerdotal race, and descended from the most illustrious families of the whole city. He had studied the Sacred Writings, which are the science of the Jews, with great care. He acquired much reputation also by human learning and philosophy, especially that of Plato. He was deputed by the Jews of Alexandria to the emperor Caligula, to vindicate the right they pretended to have to the freedom of that city.

Besides many other works, according to Euseb. Euseb. l. 2. c. 5. he wrote the sufferings of the Jews under Caligula in five books. Only the two first have been preserved, of which the one has for its title, *Embassy to Caius*. The three others are lost. It is said Ibid. c. 18. that Philo, in the reign of Claudius, having read, in the full senate, his writings against the impiety of Caligula, they were so well approved, that they were ordered to be placed in the public library.

APION, or APPION, was an Egyptian, born at Oasis, in the most remote part of Egypt. But, having obtained the freedom of Alexandria, he called himself a native of that place. He was a grammarian by profession, as those who excelled in human learning and the knowledge of antiquity were termed in those times. He was placed at the head of the deputies sent by the people of Alexandria to Caligula against the Jews of that city.

He had been the pupil of Didymus, a celebrated Suid. Aul. Gell. l. 5. c. 14. grammarian of Alexandria. He was a man of great learning, and perfectly versed in the Grecian history, but very full of himself, and passionately enamoured of his own merit.

His

His history of Egypt is cited by authors, and contained almost whatever was most memorable in that famous country. He spoke very ill of the Jews in it, and still worse in another work, in which he had industriously collected all kinds of calumny against them.

Aul. Gell.

Ibid.

The story of a slave called Androcles, who was provided with food during three years by a lion he had cured of a wound, and afterwards known by the same lion, in the sight of the whole city of Rome, when he was exposed to fight with wild beasts, must have happened about the time we speak of, because Apion, from whom Aulus Gellius quotes it, declared that he was an eye-witness of it. The slave in consequence was rewarded with his life and liberty, besides the lion. This fact is described at large in Aulus Gellius, and is worth reading.

## JOSEPHUS.

A. D. 37.  
Joseph. in  
vita sua.

JOSEPHUS was of Jerusalem, and of the sacerdotal race. He was born in the first year of Caligula. He was so well instructed, that at the age of fourteen the Pontiffs themselves consulted him concerning the Law. After having carefully examined the three sects into which the Jews were then divided, he chose that of the Pharisees.

A. D. 56. At the age of nineteen he began to have a share in the public affairs.

He sustained with incredible valour the siege of Jotaphat for almost seven weeks. That city was taken in the thirteenth year of Nero, and cost the Romans very dear. Vespasian was wounded in it. Forty thousand Jews were killed there; and Josephus, who had hid himself in a cave, was at last reduced to surrender himself to Vespasian.

I shall not relate all that passed from that time to the siege and taking of Jerusalem: he does it himself at large, to whom I refer the reader. I shall only observe that, during the whole war, and even

even whilst he continued captive, Vespasian and Titus always kept him near their persons; so that nothing happened of which he was not perfectly informed. For he saw with his own eyes all that was done on the side of the Romans, and set it down exactly; and was told by deserters, who all applied to him, what passed in the city, which no doubt he did not fail to note also.

It is more than probable that he learnt the Greek tongue, after the taking of Jotaphat, and when he saw himself obliged to live with the Romans. He owns that he never could pronounce it well, because he did not learn it whilst young; the Jews setting little value upon the knowledge of languages. Photius judges his stile pure.

Antiq.  
l. 20. c. 9.

Phot.  
c. 47.

After the war, Titus went to Rome, and took him thither along with him. Vespasian caused him to be lodged in the house he lived in before he was emperor, made him a citizen of Rome, gave him a pension with lands in Judæa, and expressed abundance of affection for him as long as he lived. It was undoubtedly Vespasian who gave him the name of Flavius, which was that of his family, when he made him a Roman citizen.

A. D. 71.

In the leisure Josephus enjoyed at Rome, he employed himself in writing the history of the war with the Jews from the materials he had prepared before. He composed it first in his own language, which was almost the same as the Syriac. He afterwards translated it into Greek for the nations of the empire, tracing it back to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees.

Josephus makes profession of relating with entire veracity all that passed on both sides, reserving of his affection for his country, only the right of deploring its misfortunes sometimes, and of detesting the crimes of the seditious, who had occasioned its final destruction.

As



As soon as he had finished his history in the Greek, he presented it to Vespasian and Titus, who were extremely pleased with it. The latter afterwards was not contented with ordering it to be published, and placing it in a library open to every body; but signed the copy deposited there with his own hand, to shew that he desired it should be from him alone all the world was informed of what passed during the siege, and at the taking of Jerusalem.

Besides the veracity and importance of this history, wherein we find the entire and literal accomplishment of the predictions of JESUS CHRIST against Jerusalem, and the terrible vengeance taken by God of that unfortunate nation for the death they had made his Son suffer, the work in itself is highly esteemed for its beauty. Photius's judgment of this history is, that it is agreeable, and full of elevation and majesty, without swelling into excess or bombast; that it is lively and animated, abounding with that kind of eloquence which either excites or soothes the passions of the soul at pleasure; that it has a multitude of excellent maxims of morality; that the speeches in it are fine and persuasive; and that, when it is necessary to support the opinions of the opposite parties, it is surprisingly fruitful of ingenious and plausible reasonings on both sides. St. Jerom gives Josephus still higher praises in a single word, which perfectly expresses his character, by calling him the *Livy* of the Greeks.

After Josephus had written the history of the destruction of the Jews, he undertook the general history of that nation, beginning at the creation of the world, in order to make known to the whole earth the wonderful works of God that occur in it. This he executed in twenty books, to which he gives the title of Antiquities, though he continues them down to the twelfth year of Nero, when the Jews revolted. It appears that he inscribed this work to Epaphroditus, a curious and learned man, who is be-  
lieved

Phot.  
C. 47.

Hieron.  
Ep. 22.

lieved to be the celebrated freedman of Nero that Domitian put to death in the year 95. Josephus finished this work in the 56th year of his age, which A. D. 93. was the 13th of Domitian's reign.

He declares in it that he neither adds to, nor diminishes any thing of what is contained in the Holy Scriptures, from which he has extracted what he relates, till after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity. But he has not kept his word so religiously as might be desired. He inserts some facts which are not in the Scripture, retrenches many others, and disguises some, in a manner that renders them merely human, and makes them lose that divine air, that majesty, which the simplicity of the Scripture gives them. Besides which, after having related the greatest of God's miracles, he is inexcusable for often weakening their authority by leaving every body at liberty to believe of them as they please. In præfat.

Josephus was willing to annex the history of his own life to his Antiquities, whilst there were many persons still in being who could have contradicted him, if he had departed from the truth. Accordingly it appears that he wrote it presently after them; and it is taken as part of the 20th book of his Antiquities. He employs almost all of it in relating what he did, when governor of Galilee, before the arrival of Vespasian. A. D. 96.

As many persons declared they doubted what he said of the Jews in his Antiquities, and objected, that, if that nation were so antient as he made it, other historians would have spoken of it; he undertook a work not only to prove, that many historians had spoken of the Jews, but to refute all the calumnies vented against them by different authors, and particularly Apion, of whom we have spoken; which occasions the whole work's being usually called *Against Apion*.

No writings were ever more generally esteemed than those of Josephus. The translation of them appeared in our language, at a time when, for want of better books, romances were the general study of the world. It contributed very much to abate that bad taste. And indeed we may easily conceive, that only persons of a wrong, light, superficial turn of mind could attach themselves to works that are no more than the idle imaginations of writers without weight or authority, in preference to histories so fine and solid as those of Josephus. Truth alone is the natural nourishment of the mind, which must be distempered to prefer, or even compare, fiction and fable to it.

## S E C T. VII.

## P L U T A R C H.

A. D. 48.

**P**LUTARCH was born at Chæronea, a town of Bœotia, five or six years before the death of the emperor Claudius, as near as can be conjectured. Bœotia was censured by the antients as a country that produced no men of wit or merit. Plutarch, not to instance Pindar and Epaminondas, is a good refutation of this unjust prejudice, and an evident proof, as he says himself, that there is no soil in which genius and virtue cannot grow up.

He descended from one of the best and most considerable families of Chæronea. The name of his father is not known: he speaks of him as a man of great merit and erudition. His uncle was called Lamprias, of whom he says, that he was very eloquent, had a fruitful imagination, and excelled himself when at table with his friends. For at that time his genius conceived new fire, and his imagination, which was always happy, became more lively and abundant: Plutarch has preserved this witty saying of Lamprias upon himself: *That wine had the same effect upon his wit, as fire upon incense;*



*incense; it made the finest and most exquisite parts of it evaporate.*

Plutarch tells us, that he studied philosophy and mathematics at Delphi, under the philosopher Ammonius, during Nero's voyage into Greece, at which time he might be about seventeen or eighteen years old.

The talents of Plutarch seem to have displayed themselves very early in his country. For, whilst he was very young, he was deputed with another citizen upon an important affair to the proconsul. His colleague having stopped on the way, he went forwards alone, and executed their joint commission. At his return, when he was preparing to give an account of it to the public, his father taking him aside, spoke to him to this effect: "In the report you are going to make, son, take care not to say, *I went, I spoke, I did thus*: but always say, *We went, we spoke, we did thus*, giving your colleague a part in all your actions; that half the success may be ascribed to him, whom his country honoured with an equal share in the commission: by this means you may avoid the envy which seldom fails to attend the glory of having succeeded." This is a wise lesson, but seldom practised by such as have colleagues, either in the command of armies, public administrations, or in any commissions whatsoever; in which it often happens, through a mistaken self-love, and a despicable and odious meanness of spirit, that men are for arrogating to themselves the honour of a success, to which they have only a right in common with their colleagues. They do not reflect, that glory generally follows those who fly it, and pays them back with great interest the praises they are willing to divide with others.

He made many voyages into Italy, on what occasion is not known. We can only conjecture with very good foundation, that the view of car-

In vit.  
Demost.  
p. 846.

rying on and making his lives of illustrious men as compleat as possible obliged him to reside more at Rome, than he would otherwise have done. What he says in the life of Demosthenes, strengthens this conjecture. According to him, “ a man who undertakes to collect facts, and to write an history consisting of events, which are neither in his own hands, nor have happened in his own country, but which are foreign, various, and dispersed here and there in many different writings; it is absolutely necessary for such a man to reside in a great and populous city, where good taste in general prevails. Such a residence puts it into his power to have a multiplicity of books at his disposal, and to inform himself, by conversation, of all the particulars which have escaped writers, and which, from being preserved in the memories of men, have only acquired the greater authority from that kind of tradition. It is the means not to compose a work imperfect and defective in its principal parts.”

It is impossible to tell exactly when he took these voyages. We can only say for certain, that he did not go to Rome for the first time till the end of Vespasian's reign, and that he went there no more after that of Domitian. For it appears, that he was settled in his country for good, a little before the latter's death; and that he retired thither at the age of forty-four or forty-five.

His motive for fixing his retirement there, from thenceforth, is worth observing. *I was born*, says he, *in a very small city; and, to prevent it from being smaller, I chuse to remain in it.* And indeed what glory has he not acquired it! Cato of Utica, having with difficulty prevailed upon the philosopher Athenodorus to go with him from Asia to Rome, was so much pleased with, and so proud of that conquest, that he considered it as a greater, more glorious, and more useful exploit, than those of Lucullus

Lucullus and Pompey, who had triumphed over the nations and empires of the East. If a stranger, famous for his wisdom, can do so much honour to a city of which he is not a native, how much must a great philosopher, a great author, exalt the city that produced him, and in which he chuses to end his days, though he could find greater advantages elsewhere. Mr. Dacier says with reason, that nothing ought to do Plutarch more honour than this love and tenderness which he expressed for Chæronea. We every day see people quit their country to make their fortunes, and aggrandise themselves; but none who renounce their ambition, to make, if we may be allowed to say so, the fortune of their country.

Plutarch has rendered his very famous. Hardly any body remembers that Chæronea was the place where Philip gained the great victory over the Athenians and Bœotians, which made him master of Greece; but multitudes say it was there Plutarch was born, it was there he ended his days, and wrote most of those fine works that will be of eternal use and instruction to mankind.

During his stay at Rome, his house was always full of the lovers of learning, amongst whom were the greatest personages of the city, who went thither to hear his discourses upon the different subjects of philosophy. In those times, the principal persons of the state, and the emperors themselves, thought it for their honour, and made it their pleasure, to be present at the lectures of the great philosophers and famous rhetoricians. We may judge of the passion with which these public dissertations of Plutarch were heard, and of the attention of his auditors, from what he tells us himself in his treatise upon curiosity. “ Formerly at Rome, Pag. 522.  
 “ says he, when I was speaking in public, Arule-  
 “ nus Rusticus, whom Domitian afterwards put to  
 “ death through envy of his glory, was one of my  
 “ hearers. Whilst I was in the midst of my dis-  
 “ course,



“ course, an officer came in, and delivered him a  
 “ letter from Cæsar, (probably Vespasian.) The  
 “ assembly kept a profound silence at first, and I  
 “ stopped to give him time to read his letter : but  
 “ he would not ; and did not open it till I had  
 “ done, and the assembly was dismissed.” This  
 was perhaps carrying deference for the orator a lit-  
 tle too far. A fault not very common, with the  
 excuse of a very laudable principle !

Pag. 346. Plutarch’s dissertations were always in Greek.  
 For, though the Latin tongue was used throughout  
 the empire, he did not understand it well enough  
 to speak it. He tells us himself, in the life of De-  
 mosthenes, that, during his residence at Rome, the  
 public affairs, with which he was charged, and the  
 number of persons that came every day to enter-  
 tain themselves with philosophy, did not afford  
 him time for learning it ; that he did not begin to  
 read the writings of the Romans till very late ; and  
 that the terms of that language did not serve so  
 much to make him understand the facts, as the  
 knowledge he had before of the facts, to make him  
 understand the terms. But the Greek tongue was  
 well known at Rome, and, properly speaking, was  
 even the language of the sciences, witness the works  
 of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who wrote his ad-  
 mirable reflections in Greek. This want of know-  
 ing the Latin tongue made Plutarch commit some  
 faults, which are to be observed in his writings.

He had the most considerable offices in his coun-  
 try : for he was Archon, that is, principal magistrate.  
 But he had passed through inferior employments be-  
 fore, and had acted in them with the same care, ap-  
 plication, and satisfaction of the public, as he did  
 afterwards in the most important. He was con-  
 vinced, and taught others by his example, that the  
 employments with which our country thinks fit to  
 charge us, however low they may seem, reflect no  
 dishonour upon us, and that it depends on a man of  
 worth

worth and sense to make them noble, by the manner in which he acquits himself of them; and this he proves by the example of Epaminondas.

As Plutarch punctually discharged all the duties of civil life, and was at the same time a good son, a good brother, father, husband, master, and citizen; he had the pleasure in consequence to find, in his domestic affairs, and throughout his family, all the peace and satisfaction he could desire: a felicity not very common, and the effect of a wise, moderate, and obliging spirit. He speaks much in favour of his brothers, sisters, and wife. She was descended from the best families of Chæroneia, and was esteemed a model of prudence, modesty, and virtue: her name was Timoxena. He had four sons successively by her, and one daughter. He lost two of the first, and after them the daughter at two years of age. We have his letter of consolation to his wife upon the death of this child.

Consol ad  
uxor. p.  
608, &c.

He had a nephew, called Sextus, a philosopher of such great learning and reputation, that he was sent for to Rome to teach the emperor Marcus Aurelius the Grecian literature. That emperor mentions him much for his honour in the first book of his reflections. *Sextus, says he, taught me by his example to be mild and obliging, to govern my house as a good father of a family, to have a grave simplicity without affectation, to endeavour to find out and prevent the desires and wants of my friends, to bear the ignorant and presuming who speak without thinking of what they say, and to adapt myself to the understanding of all men, &c.* These are all excellent qualities, especially that which induced him *to find out and prevent the desires and wants of his friends*, because it shews, that Marcus Aurelius knew the essential duty of a prince, which is to be fully convinced within himself, that, as a prince, he is born for others, and not others for him. As much may be said of all persons in place and authority.

## OF GREEK HISTORIANS.

It is time to proceed to the works of Plutarch. They are divided into two classes, the Lives of illustrious men, and his Morals.

In the latter there are a great number of curious facts not to be found elsewhere, with very useful lessons both for the conduct of private life, and the administration of public affairs; and even admirable principles concerning the divinity, providence, and the immortality of the soul; but with a mixture every-where of the absurd and ridiculous opinions, which we find in almost all the Pagans. The ignorance also of true physics renders the reading of many of these tracts tedious and disagreeable.

The most esteemed part of Plutarch's works is his lives of illustrious men, Greeks and Romans, whom he matches as near as possible and compares together. We have not all he composed; at least sixteen of them being lost. Those, of which the loss is most to be regretted, are the lives of Epaminondas and the two Scipio's *Africani*. The comparisons of Themistocles and Camillus, of Pyrrhus and Marius, of Phocion and Cato, and of Cæsar and Alexander, are also wanting.

It would not be surprising if a man of fine taste and judgment were asked, which of all the books of profane antiquity he would preserve, if he had the choice of saving only one of them from being burnt with all the rest; we ought not to wonder I say, if such a man pitched upon Plutarch's lives.

It is not only the most accomplished work we have, but the most proper for forming men either for public affairs and functions abroad, or for private and domestic life. Plutarch does not suffer himself, like the generality of historians, to be dazzled by the splendor of actions which make a great deal of noise, and attract the admiration of the vulgar and the many. He usually judges of things by what constitutes their real value. The wise reflections, which he scatters every-where in his writings, ac-  
custom



custom his readers to think in the same manner, and teach them wherein true greatness and solid glory consist. He inflexibly denies those exalted attributes to every thing that does not bear the stamp of justice, truth, goodness, humanity, love of the public, and has only the appearance of them. He does not stop at the exterior and glittering actions, in which princes, conquerors, and the other great ones of the earth, intent upon acquiring themselves names, play each their part upon the stage of the world, where they exhibit, to use the expression, a transitory and assumed character, and succeed in the counterfeit for a time. He unmask and divests them of all the foreign glare and disguise that surround them; he shews them as they are in themselves; and, to put it out of their power to escape his piercing sight, he follows them with his reader into the most secret recesses of their houses, examines them, if I may say so, in their dishabille, listens to their most familiar conversations, considers them at table where constraint seldom comes, and even at play, where disguise is still more unusual. These are the qualities in which Plutarch is wonderful, and which, in my opinion, are too much neglected by modern historians, who shun particulars of a common nature as low and trivial, which however shew the characters of men better than more great and glaring circumstances. These details are so far from diminishing the merit of Plutarch's lives, that they are directly what renders them at the same time more agreeable and more useful.

The reader will permit me to give an instance of this kind of actions in this place. I have already cited it in my treatise upon the study of polite learning, in that part of it where I examine in what true greatness consists.

The marshal Turenne never set out for the army, without having first ordered all his tradesmen to be directed to deliver in their bills to his steward. His

reason for it was, because he did not know whether he should return from the field. This circumstance may appear little and low to some people, and not worthy of a place in the history of so great a man as that marshal. Plutarch would not have thought so; and I am convinced, that the author of the new life of that prince, who is a man of sense and judgment, would not have omitted it, if it had come to his knowledge. For indeed it argues a fund of goodness, equity, humanity, and even religion, which are not always to be found in great lords, who are too apt to be insensible to the complaints of the artisan and the poor, the payment of whom however deferred only a few days, according to the Holy Scripture, cries for vengeance to heaven, and does not fail to obtain it.

As to the stile of Plutarch, his diction is neither pure nor elegant: but to make us amends it has a wonderful force and energy in painting the most lively images in few words, in venting the sharpest and most piercing things, and in expressing noble and sublime thoughts. He frequently enough makes use of comparisons, which throw abundance of grace and light into his narrations and reflections; and has harangues of inimitable beauty, almost always in the strong and vehement stile.

The beauties of this author must be very solid, and bear much of the stamp of good taste in them, to make themselves so perceptible as they still are in the old French of Amiot. But I mistake. That old French has an air of freshness, a spirit in it, that seems to make it bloom and grow young again every day. Hence it is that very good judges chuse rather to use the translation of Amiot, than to translate the passages they quote from Plutarch themselves, *not believing* (says Mr. Racine \*) *themselves capable of equalling the beauties of it*. I never read it, without regretting the loss of abundance

\* In the preface to his *Mithridates*.

of happy terms and expressions in that old language, which have almost as much energy as those of Plutarch. We suffer our language to impoverish itself every day, instead of being studious, after the example of our neighbours the English, of discoveries to enrich it. It is said that our ladies, out of too much delicacy, are partly the cause of that dearth, to which our language is in danger of being reduced. This would be very wrong, and they ought rather to favour with their suffrages, which would bring over abundance of followers, the prudent boldness of writers of a certain rank and merit; who, on their side, should assume more boldness, and venture more new words than they do, but always with judicious reserve and discretion.

We are however obliged to Mr. Dacier for having substituted a new translation of Plutarch's lives to that of Amiot, and for having thereby enabled much greater numbers to read them. It might have been more elegant and more laboured. But to carry a work of so vast an extent to its ultimate perfection would require the whole life of an author.

### A R R I A N.

ARRIAN was of Nicomedia. His learning and eloquence, which acquired him the title of the new Xenophon, raised him to the highest dignities, and even the consulship, at Rome. There is reason to believe him the same Arrian who governed Cappadocia in the latter part of Adrian's reign, and repulsed the Alans. He lived at Rome in the time of Adrian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius.

He was the disciple of Epictetus, the most celebrated philosopher of that time. He wrote a work upon *the conversations of Epictetus* in eight books, of which we have only the four first; and composed many other treatises.

His seven books upon the expeditions of Alexander are come down to us; an history the more valuable,



valuable, as we have it from a writer who was both a warrior, and a good politician. Photius accordingly gives him the praise of having wrote the life of that conqueror better than any body. We have from that critic an abridgment of the lives of Alexander's successors, which Arrian also wrote in ten books. He adds, that the same author composed a book upon India; and it is still extant, but has been made the eighth book of the history of Alexander.

He also wrote a description of the coasts of the Euxine sea. Another is ascribed to him upon those of the Red sea, that is to say, the eastern coasts of Africa, and those of Asia as far as India. But this seems to be a more antient author's, cotemporary with Pliny the naturalist.

### Æ L I A N (*Claudius Ælianus.*)

ÆLIAN was of Præneste, but passed the greatest part of his life at Rome; for which reason he calls himself a Roman. He wrote a little work in fourteen books, intituled, *Historiæ varia*, that is to say, *Miscellaneous Histories*; and another in seventeen books upon the History of Animals. We have a treatise in Greek and Latin upon the order observed by the Greeks in drawing up armies, inscribed to Adrian, and composed by one of the name of Ælian. All these works may be the same author's, who is believed to be the person whose eloquence Martial praises in one of his epigrams.

Lib. 12.

Epig. 24.

### A P P I A N.

APPIAN was of Alexandria, and lived in the time of Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus. He pleaded some time at Rome, and was afterwards comptroller of the Imperial domains.

He wrote the Roman history, not in the order of time like Livy, but making each nation subjected by the Romans a work apart, and relating events as they happened to each separately. Accordingly  
his

his design was to write an exact history of the Romans, and of all the provinces of their empire, down to Augustus; and sometimes he went also as low as to Trajan. Photius speaks of twenty-four books of it, though, when he wrote, he had not seen all those which Appian mentions in his preface.

We have at present the history of the wars of Africa, Syria, Parthia, Mithridates, Iberia or Spain, and Hannibal; some fragments of those of Illyria; five books of the civil wars instead of eight mentioned by Photius, and some fragments of several others, extracted by Mr. Valois out of the collections of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with extracts of the like nature from Polybius and several other historians.

Photius observes that this author has an extreme passion for the truth of history; that none teach the art of war better; and that his style is simple and void of superfluity, but lively and vigorous. In his harangues he gives his reader excellent models of conduct, either for reanimating troops when discouraged, or for appeasing them when mutinous and violent. He borrows many things from Polybius, and often copies Plutarch,

## DI O G E N E S L A E R T I U S.

DI O G E N E S L A E R T I U S lived in the time of Antoninus, or soon after. Others place him in the reign of Severus and his successors. He wrote the lives of the philosophers in ten books, and carefully relates their opinions and apophthegms. This work is of great use for knowing the different sects of the ancient philosophers.

The surname of *Laertius*, usually given him, probably implies his country, which was perhaps the fortress or city of Laertia in Cilicia.

We find by his writings, that, after having well studied history and the maxims of the philosophers, he embraced the sect of the Epicureans, the farthest  
from

from truth, and the most contrary to virtue, of them all.

DION CASSIUS. (*Cocceius* or *Cocceianus*.)

DION was of Nicæa in Bithynia. He lived in the reigns of the emperors Commodus, Pertinax, Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, and Alexander, who all had a very high regard for him, and confided the most important offices and governments of the empire to his care. Alexander nominated him consul for the second time. After this consulship, he obtained permission to retire, and pass the rest of his life in his own country, upon account of his infirmities.

Suid. Phot. He wrote the whole Roman history from the arrival of Æneas in Italy to the reign of the emperor Alexander in eight Decads, or fourscore books.

Dio. 1. 72. He tells us himself, that he employed ten years in collecting materials of all that passed from the foundation of Rome to the death of Severus, and twelve years more in composing his history down to that of Commodus. He afterwards added to it that of the other emperors, with as much exactness as he could, to the death of Heliogabalus, and a simple abridgment of the eight first years of Alexander, because, from having been little in Italy during that time, it had not been in his power to know so well how things had passed.

Id. 1. 80. p. 917.

Photius observes that his stile is lofty, and adapted to the greatness of his subject: that his terms are magnificent, and that his phrases and manner of writing have the air of antiquity: that he has taken Thucydides for his model, whom he imitates excellently in the turn of his narration and harangues, and has followed him in all things, except in being more clear. This praise is much in Dion's favour, but I do not know whether it does not a little exceed the bounds of truth.

Vossius



Vossius says, and Lipsius had thought the same before him, that this historian is unpardonable for not having known how to esteem virtue according to its value, and for having censured the greatest men of antiquity, as Cicero, Brutus, Cassius, and Seneca, either out of malignity of mind, or corruption of manners and judgment. That he did so is certain; and, whatever his motives were, the thing in itself can never be for his honour.

He composed, as we have said, fourscore books of the Roman history; but only a very small part of that great work is come down to us. For the first thirty-four books are lost, with the greatest part of the thirty-fifth, except some fragments. The twenty that follow, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fifty-fourth, are the part that remain entire. Vossius believes that the six following, which come down to the death of Claudius, are also perfect. But Bucherius maintains, that they are much otherwise; which seems very probable. We have only some fragments of the last twenty.

This defect is something supplied by an abridgment of Dion from the thirty-fifth book, the time of Pompey, to the end, composed by Johannes Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople in the eleventh century. This epitome is found to be sufficiently just, Xiphilinus having added nothing to Dion, except in some very few places, where it was necessary, and having generally made use of his own words. The history of Zonarus may also be called an abridgment of Dion: for he follows him faithfully, and sometimes informs us of things omitted by Xiphilinus.

## HERODIAN.

Nothing is known of the life of Herodian, except that he was of Alexandria, the son of a Rhetorician named Apollonius *Dyscolos*, or the *Rigid*, and that he followed his father's profession. He is much  
known

known by his history of the emperors in eight books from the death of M. Aurelius to those of Maximus and Balbinus. He assures us himself, that his history of those sixty years is that of his own times, and what he had seen himself. He had borne different offices both in the court, and civil government of Rome, which had given him a share in several of the events which he relates.

As to history, Photius judges much in his favour. For he tells us that it is perspicuous, lofty, and agreeable; that his diction is just and sober, observing the medium between the affected elegance of such as disdain simple and natural beauties, and the low and languid expression of those who either do not know, or despise, the delicacy and refinements of art; that it does not aim at a false agreeable by multiplying words or things, and omits nothing necessary; in a word, that he gives place to few authors for all the beauties of history. Politian's translation of Herodian's work happily sustains and almost equals the elegance of the original. The French version of it, which the Abbé Mongaut has given the public, rises much upon the Latin.

### EUNAPIUS.

**A.D. 363.** EUNAPIUS was of Sardis in Lydia, and came to Athens at the age of sixteen. He studied eloquence under Proæresus the Christian sophist, and magic under Chrysanthus, who had married his cousin. Eunapius's lives of the sophists of the fourth century is extant. There is abundance of circumstances in it relating to the history of that time. He begins with Plotinus, who appeared in the middle of the third century; and goes on to Porphyrius, Jamblichus, and his disciples, upon whom he expatiates particularly. He also wrote an history of the Emperors in fourteen books, which began in the year 268, in the reign of Claudius the successor of Gallienus, and ended at the death of Eudoxia the wife of

of Arcadius. Some fragments of this history have been preserved in the extracts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus upon embassies, and in Suidas. We find in them, that he was exceedingly exasperated against the Christian emperors, and especially against Constantine. The same spleen is observed to prevail in his lives of the sophists, especially against the monks. It is no wonder that a magician was an enemy to the Christian religion.

## Z O S I M U S.

ZOSIMUS, Count and Advocate Fiscal, lived in A. D. 415; the time of Theodosius the younger. He wrote the history of the Roman emperors in six books. The first, which contains the succession of those princes from Augustus down to Probus, (for what relates to Dioclesian is lost) is extremely abridged. The other five are more diffuse, especially to the time of Theodosius the Great and his children. He goes no farther than the second siege of Rome by Alaric. The end of the sixth book is wanting. Photius praises his stile. He says that Zosimus has almost only copied and abridged Eunapius's history; which perhaps occasioned its being lost. He is no less exasperated than the other against the Christian emperors.

## P H O T I U S.

PHOTIUS, Patriarch of Constantinople, lived in the ninth century. He was a person of immense erudition, and of still vast ambition, which hurried him into horrible excesses, and occasioned infinite troubles in the church. But that is foreign to our present subject.

I have placed him amongst the Greek historians, and shall conclude my account of them with him, not because he composed an history in form, but because, in one of his works, he has given us extracts from a great number of historians, of whom many, without him, would be almost entirely unknown.



*Μυρίοβιβλον* known. This work is intitled *Bibliotheca*, or *Library*; and indeed it merits that name. Photius examines almost three hundred authors in it, and tells us their names, countries, times when they lived, works they composed, judgment to be passed on them in respect to stile and character; and sometimes even gives us extracts of considerable length, or abridgments from them, which are to be found only in this work. From hence we may judge of how great value he is to us.

## ARTICLE II.

### *Of the Latin Historians.*

I Shall not say much upon the feeble beginnings; and, to use the expression, the infancy of the Roman history. Every body knows that it consisted at first only of simple notes or memorandums drawn up by the \* *Pontifex maximus*, who regularly set down every year whatever passed of most considerable in the state, either in war or peace; and this custom, established very early at Rome, subsisted to the time of P. Mucius the Pontifex Maximus, that is to say, to the year of Rome 629, or 631. The name of *the Great Annals* were given to these memoirs.

We may suppose, that in those early times these records were written in a very simple and even gross stile. The † pontiffs contented themselves with setting down the principal events, the times and places wherein they happened, the names and condition of the persons who had the greatest share in them, in a plain manner without regard to ornament.

\* *Erat historia nihil aliud nisi Annalium confectio: cujus rei, memoriæque publicæ retinendæ causa, ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium Pontificem maximum, res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis Pontifex maximus—qui etiam nunc *Annales maximi* nominantur. Cic. l. 2. de Orat. n. 52.*

† *Sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt—Non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt. Ibid. n. 54.*

However

However rude and imperfect these annals were, they were of great importance, because there were no other monuments to preserve the memory of all that passed at Rome; and it was a \* great loss, when most of them were destroyed at the burning of the city by the Gauls.

Some years after history began to quit this gross antique garb, and to appear in public with more decency. The poets were the first who conceived the design of improving and adorning it. NÆVIUS composed a poem upon the first Punic war, and ENNIUS wrote the annals of Rome in heroic verse.

History at length assumed a regular form, and appeared in prose. Q. FABIVS PICTOR is the most antient of the Latin historians: he lived in the time of the second Punic war. L. CINCIUS Alimentus was his cotemporary. Livy cites them both with praise. It is believed that they wrote their histories first in Greek, and then in Latin. Cincius certainly wrote the history of Gorgias the celebrated rhetorician in the latter language. Liv. l. 21.

CATO the Censor (*M. Portius Cato*) has a juster title than them to the name of Latin historian: for it is certain that he wrote his history in that tongue. It consisted of seven books, and was intitled *Origines*, Cornel. Nepos. in fragm. because in the second and third books he related the origin of all the cities of Italy. We find that Cicero set a great value on this history. *Jam vero* In Brut. n. 66. *Origines ejus (Catonis) quem florem, aut quod lumen eloquentiæ non habent?* But upon Brutus's judging this praise excessive, he put a restriction to it by adding, That nothing was wanting to the writings of Cato, and the strokes of his pencil, but a certain lively glow of colours, not discovered in his time: *Intelliges nihil illius lineamentis nisi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem & colorem defuisse.* Ibid. n.

\* Si quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraque interierunt. Liv. l. 6. n. 1.

## OF LATIN HISTORIANS.

L. PISO FRUGI, surnamed Calpurnius, is also cited amongst those antient historians. He was tribune of the people in the consulship of Censorinus and Manlius, in the 605th year of Rome. He was also several times consul. He was a civilian, orator, and historian; and had composed harangues, which were no longer in being in Cicero's time, with annals, of a stile mean enough in that orator's opinion. Pliny speaks more advantageously of them.

The \* true character of all these writers was great simplicity. They did not yet know what delicacy, beauty, and ornament of speech were. They were satisfied with making their readers understand them, and confined themselves to a close and succinct stile.

I proceed now to the historians better known, and whose writings are come down to us.

## SALLUST.

It is not without reason that Sallust has been called the first of the Roman historians :

*Crispus Romana primus in historia.*

Martial.

and that he has been believed equal to Thucydides, so generally esteemed amongst the Greek historians: Quintil. *Nec opponere Thucydidi Sallustium verear.* But without determining their ranks here, which would not become me to do, it suffices to consider Sallust as one of the most excellent historians of antiquity. The reader may find very solid reflections upon his character in the preface to the *French* translation of this historian.

The prevailing quality of his writings, and that which characterises Sallust in a more peculiar and singular manner, is the brevity of his stile, which Quintilian calls *Immortalem Sallustii velocitatem*. Sca-

\* Qualis apud Græcos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilaus fuit; tales noster Cato, & Pistor, & Piso: qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornatur oratio; (modò enim huc ista sunt importata) &. dum intelligatur quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse breviter.  
*Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 53.*



liger is the only one who denies him this praise: but, as I have already observed, he is almost always odd and singular in his judgments.

This brevity of Sallust proceeds from the lively vigour of his genius. He thinks strongly and nobly, and writes as he thinks. His stile may be compared to those rivers, which, whilst they flow within narrower banks than others, are deeper, and carry a greater burden.

The language in which he wrote was extremely adapted to close diction, and thereby favoured him in following the bent of his genius. It has, as well as the Greek, the advantage of being equally susceptible of the two opposite extremes. In Cicero it gives us a numerous, flowing, periodic style: in Sallust, a short, broken, precipitate one. The latter often suppresses words, and leaves the care of supplying them to his reader. He throws many terms and phrases together, without any conjunctions, which gives a kind of impetuosity to his discourse. He makes no scruple to use old words in his history, so they are but shorter, or have more energy than the terms in fashion; a liberty for which he was \* reproached in his life-time, as the following antient couplet shews;

*Et verba antiqui multum furate Catonis  
Crispe, Jugurthinæ conditor historiae.*

But he especially makes great use of metaphors, and does not chuse the most modest and least glowing, as the masters of the art declare necessary; but the most concise, the strongest, the most lively, and the most bold.

By all these methods, and others, which I omit, Sallust has succeeded in framing himself an entirely particular stile, and one that suits him only. He quits the common road, but without going out of

Sallustii novandi studium multa cum invidia fuit. *Aul. Gell.*  
c. 15.

his way, and by paths that only shorten it. He seems not to think like other men, and yet good sense is the source of all his thoughts. His ideas are natural and reasonable: but, all natural and reasonable as they are, they have the advantage of being new, *from being peculiarly curious and exquisite.*

We know not which to admire most in this excellent author, his descriptions, characters, or harangues: for he succeeds alike in them all; and we cannot discern upon what foundation Seneca the elder, or rather Cassius Severus, whose opinion he repeats, could say, that the harangues of Sallust are suffered only upon account of his history: *in honorem Historiarum leguntur.* Nothing can be added to their force, spirit, and eloquence. It is highly probable that the passage in question is not applied to the harangues inserted by Sallust in his history, but to those he spoke in the senate, or to some pleadings of his. When we read, in the history of the Jugurthine war, the account of a fort surprised by a Ligurian soldier of Marius's army, we seem to see him climb up and down along the steep rocks, and even to climb up and down along with him, the description is so lively and animated.

We find five or six characters in Sallust, which are so many master-pieces; and I do not know whether there be any thing in the whole extent of literature of a beauty that approaches nearer the idea of perfection. I shall repeat two of them in this place, from which the reader may judge of the rest.

#### Character of CATILINE.

*L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi & animi & corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentia bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, alboris, vigiliæ, supra quàm cuiquam credibile est. Animus audax, subdolus, varius, cuiuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulator: alieni appetens, sui pro-*

*profusus; ardens in cupiditatibus. Satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat.*

“ L. Catilina was of noble birth, and of great  
 “ strength both of body and mind, but of a dis-  
 “ position highly corrupt and depraved. From his  
 “ earliest years, intestine wars, murders, rapine,  
 “ and civil discord were his delight, and the usual  
 “ exercises of his youth. He bore hunger, cold,  
 “ watching and fatigues, with a patience not cre-  
 “ dible of any body. He was bold, deceitful, in-  
 “ constant, and capable of assuming and disguising  
 “ any thing: greedy of another’s, profuse of his  
 “ own, and violent in all his appetites. He had  
 “ eloquence enough, but little wisdom. His vast  
 “ spirit, his boundless ambition, perpetually affect-  
 “ ed and coveted things of an excessive, incredible,  
 “ too lofty nature.

#### Character of SEMPRONIA.

*In his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro atque liberis satis fortunata fuit: Literis Græcis & Latinis docta: psallere, saltare elegantius, quàm necesse est probæ: multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt, sed ei cariora semper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit. Pecuniæ an famæ minus parceret, haud faciliè discerneres—Ingenium ejus haud absurdum: posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci. Prorsus multæ facetiæ, multusque lepos inerat.*

“ Of this number was Sempronia, who had in  
 “ many things frequently instanced a masculine  
 “ boldness of genius for vice. This woman was  
 “ sufficiently happy in her person and birth, as well  
 “ as in her husband and children: She was well  
 “ read in the Greek and Roman learning: could  
 “ sing and dance with more elegance than was ne-  
 “ cessary for a matron of virtue; and had besides



“ many of those qualities, that minister to luxury  
 “ and render vice amiable, on which she ever set an  
 “ higher value than upon the decency and chastity  
 “ of her sex. It was not easy to say whether she  
 “ was less frugal of her money or of her reputa-  
 “ tion. Her wit was by no means disagreeable : she  
 “ could make verses, jest agreeably, and converse  
 “ either with modesty and tenderness, or tartness  
 “ and freedom ; but in whatever she said there was  
 “ always abundance of spirit and humour.”

There are abundance of admirable passages in Sallust, especially when he compares the antient manners of the commonwealth with those of his own times. When we hear him speak strongly, as is usual enough with him, against luxury, debauch, and the other vices of his age, one would take him for a man of the strictest life and greatest probity in the world. But we must not conclude so from so plausible an appearance. His conduct was so immoral, that it occasioned his being expelled the senate by the censors.

Besides the wars of Catiline and Jugurtha, Sallust wrote a general history of the events that happened during a certain number of years, of which amongst other fragments there are several perfectly fine discourses.

## L I V Y.

The Latin preface to the new edition of Livy, of which Mr. Crevier professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais has lately published two volumes, would supply me with the little I intend to say here of this excellent historian. If I was less Mr. Crevier's friend, who insists absolutely upon my declaring him my pupil, which I think highly for my honour, I should expatiate upon the usefulness and merit of his work. The preface of it alone is sufficient to inform the reader what value he ought to set upon it.

The

The more earnestly we desire to know an author famous for his writings, the more we regret, that little or nothing more than his name is come down to us. Livy is one of those authors who have rendered their names immortal, but whose lives and actions are little known. He was born at Padua, in the consulship of Piso and Gabinius, fifty-eight years before the Christian Æra. He had a son, to whom he wrote a letter upon education and the studies proper for youth, which Quintilian mentions in more than one place, and of which we ought very much to regret the loss. It is in this letter, or rather short treatise, that he says, in respect to the authors proper to be recommended to the reading of youth, that they ought first to study Demosthenes and Cicero, and next such as resemble those excellent orators most: *Legendos Demosthenem atque Ciceronem, tum ita ut quisque esset Demostheni & Ciceroni simillimus.* Quintil. l. 10. c. 1. He speaks, in the same letter, of a \* rhetorician who disapproved the compositions of his pupils, when they were perspicuous and intelligible, and made them correct them, as he called it, by throwing obscurity into them. When they had retouched them in this manner, he would say, *Ay, this now is much better, I understand nothing of it myself.* Senec. Epist. 100. Could one believe so ridiculous an extravagance possible? Livy also composed some philosophical works and dialogues, in which philosophy had a part.

But his great work was the Roman history in an hundred and forty, or an hundred and forty-two books, from the foundation of Rome to the death and funeral of Drusus, which happened in the 743d year of Rome, and in consequence included that number of years. We find, from some dates in his history, that he employed the whole time be-

\* Apud Titum Livium invenio fuisse præceptorem aliquem, qui discipulos obscurare quæ dicerent juberet, Græco verbo utens, *οκλιτωρ*. Unde illa scilicet egregia laudatio: *Tanto melior; ne ego quidem intellexi.* Quintil. l. 8. c. 2.

Plin.  
Epist. 3.  
l. 2.

tween the battle of Actium and the death of Drusus in composing it, that is to say, about one and twenty years. But he published it from time to time in parts; and this was what acquired him so great a reputation at Rome, and the honourable visit of a stranger from the remotest part of Spain, who took so long a journey only for the sake of seeing him. The capital of the world had enough to engage and satisfy the eyes of a curious person in the magnificence of its buildings, and the multitude of its paintings, statues, and ancient monuments. But this stranger found nothing so rare and precious in Rome as Livy. After having enjoyed his conversation at pleasure, and entertained himself agreeably with reading his history, he returned with joy and content to his own country. And this is knowing the value of men.

Nothing more is known of what regards Livy personally. He passed a great part of his life at Rome, esteemed and honoured by the Great as he deserved. He died in his country at the age of threescore and sixteen, in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius. The people of Padua have honoured his memory in all times, and pretend to have actually preserved amongst them some remains of his body, and to have made a present in the year 1451 of one of his arms to Alphonso V. king of Arragon, at least the inscription says so.

It were much more to be wished, that they had preserved his history. Only thirty-five books of it are come down to us, which is not the fourth part of the work, and even some of them imperfect. What a loss is this! The Learned have flattered themselves from time to time with some faint hopes of recovering the rest, which seem solely founded in their great desire of them.

*Johannes Freinssemius* has endeavoured to console the public for this loss by his *Supplements*, and has succeeded in it as far as was possible. FREIN-

SHEMIUS,



HEMIUS, born at Ulm in Suabia in 1608, studied at Strasburgh with great success. In 1642 he was invited into Sweden, where he filled several considerable employments of literature. Upon his return into his country, he was made honorary professor in the university established by the elector Palatine at Heidelberg, where he died in 1660. The commonwealth of letters have infinite obligations to him for having rendered Livy the same service as he had before done Quintus Curtius, by filling up all we have lost of that great writer of the Roman history with an hundred and five books of Supplements. Mr. Doujat also filled up the deficient places in the last books which remain of Livy, but with very different success. Mr. Crevier has revised and retouched Freinshemius's Supplements in several places, and worked those of Doujat entirely anew. By these means we have a continued and complete body of the Roman history; I mean that of the commonwealth.

It is doubted whether Livy himself divided his history from ten to ten books, that is to say, into decads. However this may be, that division seems commodious enough.

In respect to the epitome's in the front of each book, the learned do not believe them either done by Livy or Florus. Whoever the author was, they have their use, as they serve to shew of what the books we have lost treated,

Let us now examine the work in itself. There reigns in it, considered in all its parts, an eloquence perfect, and perfect in every kind. In the narrations, descriptions, speeches, the style, though varied to infinity, sustains itself equally every-where: simple without meanness, elegant and florid without affectation, great and sublime without tumour, flowing or concise, and full of sweetness or force, according to the exigency of the matter; but always clear

clear and intelligible, which is not the meanest praise of history.

Pollio \*, who was of a refined taste that it was difficult to please, pretended he discovered *Patavinity* in the style of Livy: that is to say, some words or turns of phrase which favoured of the country of Padua. A man born there might retain, if we may be allowed the expression, some smatch of the soil, and might not have all the refinement and delicacy of the Roman *urbanity*, which was not so easily communicated to strangers, as the freedom of the city. But this is what we can now neither perceive nor understand.

This reproach of Patavinity has not hindered † Quintilian from equalling Livy with Herodotus, which is giving him great praise. He makes us observe the sweet and flowing style of his narrations, and the supreme eloquence of his harangues, wherein the characters of the persons he introduces speaking, are sustained with all possible exactness, and the passions, especially the soft and tender, are treated with wonderful art. All however that Livy could do was to attain, by qualities entirely different, to the immortal reputation which Sallust acquired by his inimitable brevity: for these two historians have with reason been said rather to be equal, than like each other; *pares magis, quam similes*.

It is not only by his eloquence, and the beauty and spirit of his narration, that Livy acquired the reputation he has enjoyed for so many ages. He

† In Tito Livio miræ facundię viro putat inesse Pollio Asinius quandam Patavinitatem. Quare, si fieri potest, & verba omnia, & vox, hujus alumnus urbis oleant: ut oratio Romana planè videatur, non civitate donata. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 1.

† Nec indignetur sibi Herodotus æquari Titum Livium, cum in narrando miræ jucunditatis clarissimique candoris, tum in concionibus supra quam dici potest eloquentem: ita dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum personis accommodata. Sed affectus quidem, præcipuè eos qui sunt dulciores, ut parcissime dicam, nemo historicorum commendavit magis. Ideoque immortalem illam Sallustii velocitatem diversis virtutibus consecutus est. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

recommended himself no less by his fidelity, a virtue so necessary and desirable in an historian. Neither the fear of displeasing the powerful of his times, nor the desire of making his court to them, prevented him from telling the truth. He spoke in his history with praise of the greatest enemies of the house of the Cæsars, as of Pompey, Brutus, Cassius and others; and Augustus took no offence at it: so that we know not which most to admire, the moderation of the prince, or the generous freedom of the historian. In the thirty-five books that remain of Livy, he mentions Augustus only twice, and that too with a reserve and sobriety of praise, which reproaches those flattering, self-interested writers, who, without discretion or measure, are so lavish of an incense to office and dignity, due only to merit and virtue.

Tacit.

Annal.

l. 4. c. 24.

Lib. 7.

n. 19. &amp;

l. 4. n. 20.

If any defect may be imputed to Livy, it is his over fondness for his country! a rock he has not always taken care enough to avoid. Whilst he perpetually admires the greatness of the Romans, he not only exaggerates their exploits, successes, and virtues; but disguises and diminishes their vices, and the faults they commit.

Seneca the Elder reproaches Livy with having expressed a mean jealousy of Sallust, in accusing him of stealing a sentence from Thucydides, and of having maimed it by translating it ill. What probability is there that Livy, who copied whole books from Polybius, should make it a crime in Sallust to copy a single sentence, that is to say a line, or part of one? Besides which it is perfectly well rendered.

Lib. 4.

Controv.

4.

Δινοῦν γὰρ αἱ ἐν πρᾶξι συγχεῖσθαι καὶ συσκοῦσαι τὰ ἐκείνων ἀμαρτήματα. *Res secundæ mirè sunt vitiis obtentui.* And how shall we reconcile this accusation with what the same Seneca says in another place: That Livy

Id suafor.

7. 6.

judged with the utmost equity and candor of the works of the learned? *Ut est natura candidissimus omnium*

nium



*nium magnorum ingeniorum æstimator T. Livius.* I believe we may rely upon this last testimony.

There is another complaint against him of a much more serious and important kind. He is taxed with ingratitude, and want of fidelity, either in not having named Polybius, or for having done it with too much indifference, in places where he copied him word for word. I should be sorry if this reproach could be made with good foundation: for it affects the qualities of the heart, of which the honest man ought to be very jealous. But is it not probable, that he did speak of Polybius with praise in the other parts of his history not come down to us, that he did him all the justice due to his merit, and declared beforehand, that he made it his glory, and thought it his duty, to copy him word for word in many places, and that he should often do so without citing him, to avoid repeating the same thing too often? My own interest is a little concerned here: for in this point I have some occasion for the reader's indulgence.

This kind of blots, observed in Livy, have not however impaired his glory. Posterity on account of them has not admired his work the less, not only as a master-piece of eloquence, but as an history, which every-where inculcates the love of justice and virtue; wherein we find, mingled with his narration, the soundest maxims for the conduct of life, with a singular attachment and respect, that shines out every-where, for the religion established at Rome when he wrote; (unfortunately for him it was false, but he knew no other;) in fine, a generous boldness and pious zeal in condemning with force the impious sentiments of the unbelievers of his age. *Nondum hæc,* says he in a passage of *Lib. 3. n. 20. quæ nunc tenet seculum, negligentia deum venerat: nec interpretando sibi quisque iusjurandum & leges aptas faciebat, sed suos potius mores ad ea accommodabat.* “ The contempt of the gods, so common in

“ our

“ our age, was not yet known. Oaths and the  
 “ laws were the rules to which people conformed  
 “ their conduct, and the art of adapting them to  
 “ their own conveniency by illusive interpretations  
 “ was then unknown.”

From what I have now said, it seems reasonable to justify Livy in respect to the pretended superstition, with which he affects to relate such a number of miracles and prodigies equally ridiculous and incredible. The faith of history required, that he should not suppress things said to have happened before him, which he found in his own collections and the annals, and which made a part of the religion commonly received in those times, though perhaps he did not believe them himself. And he\* explains himself on this head often and clearly enough, attributing most of the pretended prodigies, which made so much noise, to an ignorant and credulous superstition.

## C Æ S A R.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR distinguished himself no less by his wit than his valour. He applied first to the bar, where he made a great figure. † Only the desire of attaining the first rank in the commonwealth, in respect to power, prevented him from disputing also the first rank at the bar in respect to eloquence. His peculiar character was force and vehemence. The same fire which he made appear in battle, is discernible in his writings. To this vigour of stile he added great purity and elegance

\* Romæ, aut circa urbem, multa ea hieme prodigia facta, aut (quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem animis) multa nuntiata & temerè credita sunt. *Lib. 21. n. 62.*

Cum (adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inferit deos) mures in æde Jovis aurum rosisse nunciatum est. *Lib. 27. n. 23.*

† C. vero Cæsar, si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat. Exornat tamen hæc omnia mira sermonis, cujus proprie studiosus fuit, elegantia. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

of language, which he had made his peculiar study, and upon which he piqued himself more than any other Roman.

Aul. Gell. L. I. c. 10. He composed many works, amongst others, two books upon the analogy of the Latin tongue. Who could believe, that so great a warrior as Cæsar should employ himself seriously in composing tracts upon Grammar? How different are our manners and inclinations from those of that age! It is in one of these books upon analogy, that he recommended avoiding new and unusual expressions, as rocks: *tanquam scopulum, sic fugias insolens verbum.*

There were several pleadings of his also extant. \* Besides the elegance of his Latinity, which is necessary, says Atticus, or rather Cicero, not only to every orator, but every Roman citizen of condition, he adds all the ornaments of art, but principally a wonderful talent in painting objects, and placing things in all their light.

Only two of Cæsar's works remain; his seven books of the war with the Gauls, and his three of the civil war. They are, properly speaking, only memoirs, and he made them public only as such: *Commentarii*. He † wrote them hastily, and even in the midst of his expeditions: solely with the view of leaving materials to writers, for composing an history. The perspicuity and elegance of style, natural to him, are certainly evident in them: but he has neglected all the shining ornaments a genius so happy as his could have diffused throughout a work of that nature. ‡ All simple and negligent as it

\* Cum, inquit Atticus, ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum (quæ etiam si orator non sis, & sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est) adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi: tum videtur tanquam tabulas bene pictas collocare in bono lumine. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 252.

† Cæteri quàm bene atque emendatè, nos etiam quàm facilitè atque celeriter eos confecerit, scimus. *Hirt. Præf.* l. 8. *de Bell. Gall.*

‡ Constat inter omnes nihil tam operosè ab aliis esse perfectum, quod non horum elegantia Commentariorum superetur. *Hirt. ibid.*



may appear, says Hirtius, it is however generally agreed, that no other work, however laboured and polished, can come up to the beauty of Cæsar's Commentaries. His design was only to supply those with materials who might undertake to compose an history from them in form. "In which," says Cicero, he may have pleased writers of mean parts, who will not fear disfiguring his natural graces with trivial ornaments: but every man of sense will be far from touching or altering them in any manner whatsoever. For nothing in history gives so much pleasure as so clear and elegant a brevity of stile." *Dum voluit alios habere parata unde sumerent, qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis fortasse gratum fecit, qui volent illa calamistris inurere; sanos quidem homines à scribendo deterruit. Nihil enim est in Historia pura & illustri brevitate dulcius.* Hirtius has the same thought, in respect to writers who should conceive thoughts of composing an history from Cæsar's Commentaries. "He certainly supplies them with the means, says he; but if they are wise, those very means ought for ever to prevent their having such a thought." *Adeo probantur omnium judicio, ut prærepta non præbita facultas scriptoribus videatur.* Mr. Ablancourt's translation of Cæsar's Commentaries is very much esteemed. It might be improved, if some able hand would retouch it in some places.

Cæsar had undoubtedly great wit and the most happy natural parts: \* but he had also taken pains to cultivate them by assiduous study, and to enrich them with all that was most curious and exquisite in literature; by which means he arrived at excelling almost all the most eloquent orators of Rome in purity of language and delicacy of stile. I

\* Audio (inquit Atticus) Cæsarem omnium ferè oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime—Et ut esset perfecta illa bene loquendi laus, multis literis, & iis quidem reconditis & exquisitis, summoque studio & diligentia est consecutus. *Cic. in Brut. n. 252, 253.*

purposely make this remark after Cicero, to excite our young nobility to follow so good an example, in uniting with the praise of valour that of fine sense and polite knowledge. I have seen young Englishmen of distinction, who have done me the honour of a visit, that were well read in the learning of the Greeks and Romans, and no less versed in history. In these points jealousy, or, to speak more justly, emulation, is laudable between nation and nation. The French youth are inferior to none in vivacity and solidity of genius. In my opinion, they ought to pique themselves upon not giving place in any thing to strangers, and in not abandoning to them the glory of erudition and fine taste.

This is what Cæsar seems to exhort them. His Commentaries ought always to be in their hands. It is the soldier's book. The greatest generals in all times have made him their master. The reading of these memoirs have been always their employment and delight. They find in them the rules of the art military, whether in sieges or battles, reduced to practice. They may learn also there, the manner of composing memoirs, which is no vulgar talent. It were to be wished, that all generals would regularly set down all the operations of the campaigns in which they command. What an assistance would that be to historians, and what a light to posterity! Is there any thing more valuable than the memoirs of the Marshal Turenne, printed in the second volume of his life; or than those of James II. king of England, then duke of York?

Hirtius finished what Cæsar could not. The eighth book of the war with the Gauls is his, as well as those of the war of Alexandria, and that of Africa. It is doubted whether he is the author of the book which treats of the war in Spain.

Mr. Ablancourt's translation of Cæsar, as well as of Tacitus, is very good in many things, but wants retouching in many places.

P A T E R.

## PATERCULUS.

*Caius*, or *Publius*, or *Marcus VELLEIUS PATERCULUS* flourished in the reign of *Tiberius*. There is great reason to believe that he was born in the A.D. 15. 735th year of Rome. His ancestors were illustrious by their merit and offices. He was a tribune in the army, when *Caius Cæsar*, the grandson of *Augustus*, had an interview with the king of *Parthia* in an island of the *Euphrates*. He had a command in the cavalry under *Tiberius*; and attended that prince nine years successively in all his expeditions, who rewarded him honourably. He was raised to the prætorship the same year *Augustus* died.

Vell. Pat.

l. 20. c. 101.

Ib. c. 104.

Ib. c. 124.

The time when he began to write his history is not known; nor what it contained. The beginning of it is lost. What is come down to us of it is a fragment of the antient Greek history with that of the Romans, from the defeat of *Perseus* to the sixteenth year of *Tiberius*. He addresses it to *M. Vincius*, who was consul at that time, and promised one of greater extent. His travels into different regions might have furnished him with very agreeable and curious facts.

His stile is highly worthy of the age in which he lived, which was still that of fine taste and pure language. He excels principally in the characters of men, some of which I shall cite at the end of this article.

His narration is judged to be faithful and sincere down to the time of the *Cæsars*, and in such facts as do not concern them. For, from thenceforth, the desire of flattering *Tiberius* makes him either omit, disguise, or alter the truth in various instances. He accuses *Germanicus* of cowardice, or rather of a too soft complacency for the seditious, whilst he gives many others excessive praises: *Quo quidem tempore—pleraque \* ignavè Germanicus*.

Lib. 2.

c. 125.

\* A learned commentator (*Boëclerus*) believes this passage corrupt, and that *gnavè* ought to be read. But to correct a text in such a manner, contrary to the faith of manuscripts, is only to guess.



He is justly reproached with having given Tiberius excessive praises. His unfair evasions of offending that emperor appear, as I have already said, in the care he takes to run slightly over the glorious actions of Germanicus, to suppress most of them, and to attack the fame of Agrippina, and other persons hated by Tiberius.

But he is still more unpardonable, for loading Sejanus with praises who occasioned so many misfortunes to the empire, and for having represented him as one of the most virtuous personages the Roman commonwealth had ever produced: *Sejanus, vir antiquissimi moris, & priscam gravitatem humanitate temperans.*

Lib. 2.  
c. 116.

Lib. 2. c.  
127, 128.

This is nothing to the panegyric he bestows upon him in the sequel: “ He previously laid down by  
“ many examples the necessity princes were under  
“ of assistance in their government, and of associ-  
“ ating coadjutors to divide with them the weight  
“ of public affairs.” *Rarè eminentes viri non magnis adjutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam suam usi sunt—Etenim magna negotia magnis adjutoribus egent.* Who doubts it? But the question is to make a good choice. He proceeds then to Sejanus, and after having exalted the splendor of his birth, he represents him “ as a man, who knows  
“ how to temper the severity of power with an  
“ air of sweetness, and the chearful serenity of the  
“ antients; who transacts the most weighty affairs  
“ with all the ease of leisure; who assumes nothing  
“ to himself, and thereby attains every thing; who  
“ always is less in his own opinion than in that of  
“ the public; whose aspect and behaviour appear  
“ calm and tranquil, whilst the cares of the state  
“ afford him no rest. In which judgment of his  
“ merits, the court and the city, the prince and  
“ the people, contend with each other.” *Virum severitatis letissimæ, hilaritatis priscæ; actu otiosis similitimum; nihil sibi vendicantem, eoque assequentem omnia;*

*omnia; semper infra aliorum æstimationes se metientem; vultu vitæque tranquillum, animo exsomnialem.* In *hujus virtutum æstimationem jampridem judicia civitatis cum judiciis principis certant.* How great was his love of the public good, if we may believe his historian! What application to business! What zeal for the interests of the prince and state! How amiable his character under the oppressive weight of the public business! What moderation, and in a word, what an assemblage of the greatest virtues, attested by the unanimous voices of the world!

In order to know what we are to think of them, let us consider a second picture of the same Sejanus drawn by another master, who did not receive hire from him, and was never suspected of flattery. This was Tacitus, of whom we shall soon speak: *Sejanus Tiberium variis artibus devinxit adeo, ut obscurum adversus alios, sibi uni incautum intellectumque* Tacit. An. l. 4. c. 15 *efficeret: non tam solertia, (quippe iisdem artibus victus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam; cujus pari exitio viguit ceciditque. Corpus illi laborum tolerans; animus audax, sui obtegens; in alios criminatur: juxta adulatio & superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, ejusque causa modò largitio & luxus, sæpe industria ac vigilantia, haud minùs noxiæ quoties parando regno fingantur.*

“ Sejanus by various arts gained the ascendant of  
 “ Tiberius so far, that though that prince was  
 “ gloomy and impenetrable to every body else, he  
 “ disguised nothing, and kept no secret from him;  
 “ which is not so much to be ascribed to the craft  
 “ and address of that minister, (for he fell by the  
 “ same arts of cunning and deceit himself) as to  
 “ the anger of the gods against the Roman em-  
 “ pire, to which his power and fall were equally  
 “ pernicious. He had strength of body to sup-  
 “ port great fatigues: the character of his mind  
 “ was presumption, disguise, and malignity in ca-  
 “ lumniating others. He was at the same time a

“ flatterer to the lowest degree of meanness, and  
 “ haughty to excess : his outside wore the appear-  
 “ ance of great modesty and reserve ; within the  
 “ lust of gain and ambition wholly engrossed him.  
 “ His means for the attainment of his ends were  
 “ luxury and corruption, and sometimes vigilance  
 “ and application, no less dangerous, when assumed  
 “ for usurping empire.”

To say every thing in a word, Sejanus, so much extolled by Paterculus, was the scourge of the divine wrath against the Roman empire : *deum irâ in rem Romanam*. Persons in high stations, who have the dispensation of graces and advantages, may judge from hence of the value they ought to set upon the praises lavished upon them so immoderately, and often with so little shame.

I have said before that Paterculus excelled particularly in the characters of men. Some of them are short, which are not the least beautiful ; and many of greater extent. I shall repeat here some examples of both.

#### M A R I U S.

Lib. 2.  
c. 9.

*Hirtus atque horridus, vitæque sanctus ; quantum bello optimus, tantum pace pessimus ; immodicus gloriæ, insatiabilis, impotens, semperque inquietus.* “ Marius  
 “ had something savage and horrid in his nature :  
 “ his manners were austere, but irreproveable : ex-  
 “ cellent in war, detestable in peace ; greedy, or  
 “ rather insatiable of glory ; violent, and incapa-  
 “ ble of rest.”

#### S Y L L A.

Lib. 2.  
c. 25.

*Adæo Sylla dissimilis fuit bellator ac victor, ut, dum vincit, iustissimo lenior ; post victoriam, audito fuerit crudelior.* “ Nothing was more different than Sylla  
 “ at war, and Sylla victorious. In the field, he  
 “ was milder than the justest ; after the victory,  
 “ more cruel than the most barbarous.”

MITHRI-



## MITHRIDATES.

*Mithridates, Ponticus rex : vir neque splendens, neque* Lib. 2.  
*dicendus, sine cura. Bello acerrimus, virtute eximius ;* c. 18.  
*aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus : consiliis dux,*  
*miles manu, odio in Romanos Annibal. Mithridates,*  
 “ king of Pontus, of whom it is difficult either to  
 “ speak or to be silent. Most expert in war, of  
 “ extraordinary valour ; sometimes very great by  
 “ fortune, always by magnanimity : in counsels a  
 “ general, in execution a soldier, in hatred to the  
 “ Romans an Hannibal.”

## MÆCENAS.

*C. Mæcenas, equestri sed splendido genere natus : vir,* Lib. 2.  
*ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sanè exsomnia, providens, at-* c. 88.  
*que agendi sciens ; simul verò aliquid ex negotio remit-*  
*ti posset, otio ac mollitiis penè ultra feminam fluens.*  
 “ Mæcenas descended from an Equestrian, but il-  
 “ lustrious and antient family. Where vigilance  
 “ was necessary, he was able, provident, and active,  
 “ without allowing himself rest. But as soon as affairs  
 “ would admit of relaxation, he gave himself up  
 “ to the charms of ease and voluptuousness with  
 “ almost more than female fondness.”

## SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS.

*P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir arctis P. Africani pater-* Lib. 1.  
*nisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus, omnibus belli ac* c. 12.  
*togæ dotibus, ingenique ac studiorum eminentissimus se-*  
*culi sui : qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut*  
*dixit, ac sensit—Tam elegans liberalium studiorum om-* Ib. c. 13.  
*nisque doctrinæ auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium*  
*Panætiumque, præcellentes ingenio viros, domi militiæ-*  
*que secum habuerit. Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione*  
*elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio dispunxit : semper-*  
*que aut belli aut pacis servit artibus ; semper inter ar-*  
*ma ac studia versatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum*  
*disciplinis exercuit. “ P. Scipio Æmilianus, who*  
 “ per-

“ perfectly resembled Scipio Africanus his grand-  
 “ father, and Paulus Æmilius his father, in their  
 “ virtues, was the most eminent person of his age  
 “ for all the talents, natural and acquired, that  
 “ could adorn peace or war; a man, who never  
 “ during his life ever did, said, or thought any  
 “ thing but what deserved praise. He was so  
 “ great an admirer of polite learning and science  
 “ in general, in which himself excelled, that he al-  
 “ ways had with him, as well at home as in the  
 “ field, Polybius and Panætius, two of the most  
 “ illustrious learned men of his time. No man  
 “ knew how to apply the intervals of leisure from  
 “ business with more elegance and taste than this  
 “ Scipio: and, as the arts of war or peace were his  
 “ continual employments, between arms and books,  
 “ he incessantly exercised either his body in the  
 “ dangers and fatigues of the one, or his mind in  
 “ the refined studies and speculations of the other.”

## C A T O O F U T I C A.

Lib. 2.  
 c. 35.

*M. Cato, genitus proavo, M. Catone, principe illo  
 familiæ Porciæ: homo virtuti simillimus, & per omnia  
 ingenio diis quàm hominibus prærior: qui nunquam rectè  
 fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non pe-  
 terat; cuique id solum visum est rationem habere, quod  
 haberet justitiam: omnibus humanis vitiis immunis, sem-  
 per fortunam in sua potestate habuit.* “ Cato of Utica’s  
 “ great grandfather was Cato the censor, that illu-  
 “ strious head of the Porcian family. He was in  
 “ all things more like a God than a man, and  
 “ seemed *virtue itself in human shape*. He never  
 “ did any thing virtuous for the sake of seeming  
 “ virtuous, but because he could not do otherwise;  
 “ and never thought any thing could have reason,  
 “ that wanted justice. Exempt from all human  
 “ vices, fortune, to which he never gave way, was  
 “ in his power, and in a manner his slave.”

POMPEY.

## POMPEY.

*Innocentia criminus, sanctitate præcipuus, eloquentia* Lib. 2.  
*medius : potentia, quæ honoris causâ ad eum deferretur,* c. 29.

*non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus. Dux bello peritissimus; civis in toga (nisi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem) modestissimus. Amiciliarum tenax, in offensis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia fidelissimus, in accipienda satisfactione facillimus. Potentia sua nunquam, aut rarò, ad impotentiam usus : penè omnium vitiorum expertus, nisi numeraretur inter maxima, in civitate libera dominaque gentium indignari, cum omnes cives jure haberet pares, quemquam æqualem dignitate conspicere.*

“ Pompey’s manners were blameless and noble, his probity supreme, his eloquence indifferent. He was extremely fond of power, when conferred upon him freely and for his honour, but not so much as to seize it by violence: a most able general in war, a most moderate citizen in peace, except when he apprehended having an equal. Tenacious in friendship, easy in forgiving injuries, most faithful in reconciliation, and far from rigid in exacting satisfaction. He never, or very rarely, employed his power in committing violence and oppression; and might be said to be exempt from all vices, if it were not the greatest in a free state, the mistress of the world, where all the citizens were equal by right and constitution, to be incapable of suffering any equal in power and authority.”

## CÆSAR.

*Cæsar forma omnium civium excellentissimus, vigore* Lib. 2.  
*animi acerrimus, munificentia effusissimus, animo super* c. 41.

*humanam & naturam & fidem evehens: magnitudine consiliorum, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum, Magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo, simillimus: qui denique semper & somno & cibo in vitam, non in voluptatem, uteretur.*

H 4

“ all



“ all the Romans in the beauty of his person, surpassed them still more in the force and superiority of his genius, in munificence and liberality to profusion, and in valour and ability above either human nature or belief. The greatness of his projects, the rapidity of his conquests, and his intrepid valour in confronting dangers, make him entirely resemble Alexander the Great, but Alexander sober and free from rage. Food and rest he used only for refreshment, not for pleasure.”

## T A C I T U S.

TACITUS (*C. Cornelius Tacitus*) was older than the younger Pliny, who was born in the year of Christ 61.

Vespasian first raised him to dignities, in which Titus continued him, and to which Domitian added greater. He was prætor in the reign of the latter, and in that of Nerva was substituted consul to Virginius Rufus, whose panegyric he composed.

Plin. Ep. 1.  
l. 2.

A. D. 77,  
or 78.  
A. D. 93.

Vopisc. in  
vit. Tacit.

He married the daughter of Cn. Julius Agricola, famous for the conquest of Britain. He had been four years out of Rome with his wife, when Agricola died. Lipsius believes that Tacitus left children, because the emperor Tacitus said he was descended from him or from the same family.

Plin. Ep.  
3, 11. l. 2.

Learning rendered Tacitus more illustrious than his dignities. He pleaded, even after he had been consul, with great reputation for eloquence, of which the peculiar character was weight and majesty. He had been highly esteemed, from his first appearance.

Id. Ep. 2.  
l. 7.

Id. Ep. 7.  
l. 8.

Pliny the younger was one of his first admirers, and they contracted a great friendship with each other. They mutually corrected each other's works; which is of great service to an author. This I experience every day with the utmost gratitude, and am conscious, that I owe the success of my labours to the like assistance of no less learned than affectionate friends.

It appears that Tacitus published some orations or pleadings. He also composed some pieces in verse; and there is a letter of his amongst those of Pliny.

But he is only known, in these days, by his historical writings, to which St. Sidonius tells us he did not apply himself, till after he had endeavoured in vain to persuade Pliny to undertake his subject.

He composed his *description of Germany* during Trajan's second consulship: at least there is room to conjecture so.

*The life of Agricola*, his father-in-law, appears also from the preface to be one of his first works, and to be written in the beginning of Trajan's reign. He employs part of the preface in describing the tempestuous times of a cruel reign at enmity with all virtue: *Sæva & infesta virtutibus tempora*. This was that of Domitian. He concludes it with observing, that he dedicates that book to the glory of Agricola his father-in-law; and hopes that the respect and gratitude, which induced him to undertake it, will either recommend it to favour, or be its excuse: *Hic interim liber honori Agricolæ soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit, aut excusatus*.

He then proceeds to his subject, and explains the principal circumstances and actions of his father-in-law's life. This piece is one of the finest and most valuable fragments of antiquity; in which soldiers, courtiers, and magistrates may find excellent instructions.

The great work of Tacitus is that wherein he wrote the history of the emperors, beginning at the death of Galba, and concluding at that of Domitian: which is what we call his *Histories*. But, of the twenty-eight years contained in this history, from the year sixty-nine to ninety-six, we have only the year sixty-nine and part of seventy. To compose this work, he asked memoirs of particular persons, as he did of Pliny the younger, concerning his uncle's death. Such as were desirous of being known

Tacit.  
Hist. l. 1.  
c. 1.

Plin. Ep.  
16. l. 6.

Plin. Ep.  
16, 20.  
l. 6.

known to posterity sent him accounts without application, which we find from the same Pliny, who was in hopes of being immortalised by that means. The letters which he wrote him, upon that head, seem to be of the year 102 or 103, from whence we may judge at what time Tacitus applied himself to that work.

Tacit.  
Hist. l. 1.  
c. 1.

He intended, after having finished it, if God prolonged his life, to write also the history of Nerva and Trajan: Happy times, says he, in which a man might think as he pleased, and speak as he thought. *Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet.* But it does not appear that he executed this design.

Instead of that he resumed the Roman history from the death of Augustus to the reign of Galba; and this is the part that he calls his *Annals*, because he endeavoured to introduce all the events under their respective years, which however he does not always observe in relating some wars.

Annal.  
l. 11 c. 11.

In a passage of these annals, he refers to the history of Domitian, that he had written before: which shews that the *Histories* were prior to the *Annals*, though the latter are placed first. And it is observed that the stile of his histories is more florid and diffuse than that of his annals, which is more grave and concise, without doubt, as he was naturally inclined to brevity, from his having grown stronger in that habit, the more he had written. Of the four emperors, whose history Tacitus wrote in his annals, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, only that of the first and last are come down to us almost entire: we however want three years of Tiberius, and the latter part of Nero's reign. Caligula is entirely lost, and we have only the end of Claudius.

Hieron.  
Zachar.

He designed also to have written the history of Augustus: but St. Jerom seems to have known nothing more of his, except what he treated of from  
the



the death of that prince to that of Domitian, which, says he, made thirty books.

If what Quintilian says of a celebrated historian of his times, whom he does not name, is to be understood of Tacitus, as some authors have believed, it seems that he had been obliged to retrench some places in which he was too free and bold. The passage of Quintilian \* says, " There is an historian who still lives for the glory of our age, and who deserves to live eternally in the remembrance of succeeding times. He will be called by his name hereafter, at present it suffices that we know him. This great man has admirers, but no imitators; his freedom and love of truth having done him hurt, notwithstanding his having suppressed part of his writings. In what remains however, we perfectly discern the elevation of his genius, and his bold and noble manner of thinking."

It is a misfortune that we are no better informed in the circumstances of the life of so illustrious a writer : Nor do we know any thing in respect to his death. The emperor Tacitus, who held it an honour to descend from our historian's family, decreed, that his works should be placed in all libraries, and that ten copies should be made of them every year at the expence of the public, in order to their being more correct. This was a wise and laudable precaution, which, one would think, might have preserved entire a work so worthy in all its parts of being transmitted to posterity.

Vopisc. in  
vit. Tacit.  
Imper.

Tacitus boasts of having written without passion or prejudice, *sine ira & studio*; and of having strictly adhered to truth in every thing, which is the principal duty of an historian. To effect this, Tacitus had occasion not only for a great love of

\* Supereſt adhuc, & exornat ætatis noſtræ gloriam, vir ſeculorum memoria dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intelligitur. Habet amatores nec imitatores, ut libertas, quanquam circumciſis quæ dixiſſet, ei nocuerit; ſed elatum abunde ſpiritum & audaces ſententiæ deprehendæ etiam in iis quæ manent. *Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.*

truth,

truth, but a very fine discernment and much precaution. "For he observes himself, in speaking of  
 " the histories of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and  
 " Nero, that whether they were written during their  
 " lives or after their deaths, falshood was equally  
 " notorious in them, fear having dictated some  
 " of them, and hatred others: *Florentibus ipsis, ob  
 metum falsæ; postquam occiderunt, recentibus odiis com-  
 posita sunt.* " There are, says he, two failings  
 " highly apt to injure truth, either abandoned adu-  
 " lation, or revengeful hatred against those that  
 " reign. It is not to be expected, that historians,  
 " who are either flatterers or declared enemies,  
 " should have any great regard for posterity. *Veritas  
 pluribus modis infesta——libidine assentandi, aut rur-  
 sus odio adversus dominantes. Ita neutris cura posteri-  
 tatis, inter infensos vel obnoxios.* " We are presently  
 " disgusted with the sordid flattery of a writer, but  
 " hear slander and reproach with pleasure: for adu-  
 " lation bears the odious brand of slavery, and ma-  
 " lignity the specious shew of freedom." *Sed ambi-  
 tionem scriptoris facillè adverseris, obtrectatio & livor  
 pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulationi sædum  
 crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest.*  
 Tacitus promises to avoid these two extremes, and  
 professes a fidelity of proof against all prejudices:  
*Incorruptam fidem professis, nec amore quisquam & sine  
 odio dicendus est.*

The part which we have of Tiberius's reign is  
 judged Tacitus's masterpiece in respect to politics:  
 The rest of his history, say the same critics, might  
 be composed by another as well as by him; Rome  
 not wanting declaimers to paint the vices of Cali-  
 gula, the stupidity of Claudius, and the cruelties of  
 Nero. But to write the life of a prince like Tibe-  
 rius required an historian like Tacitus, who could  
 unravel all the intrigues of the cabinet, assign their  
 real causes to events, and distinguish pretext and  
 appearance from actual motives and truth.

It is useful and important, I confess, to unmask false virtues, to penetrate the mists and obscurity, in which ambition and the other passions conceal themselves, and to set vice and guilt in full light, in order to inspire the horror of them. But is it not to be feared that an historian, who almost everywhere affects to dive into the human heart, and to sound it in its most secret recesses, gives us his own ideas and conjectures for reality, and frequently lends men intentions they never had, and designs of which they never thought? Sallust throws political reflections into his history, but he does it with more art and reserve, and thereby renders himself less suspected. Tacitus, in his history of the emperors, is more attentive to exposing the bad, than shewing the good: which perhaps is because all those whose lives we have from him are bad princes.

As to the style of Tacitus, we must own it very obscure: it is sometimes even hard and stiff, and has not all the purity of the good authors of the Latin tongue. But he excels in expressing much sense in few words, which gives a very peculiar force, energy, and spirit, to his discourse. He excels also in painting objects, sometimes with brevity, and sometimes with greater extent, but always in lively colours, that in a manner set what he describes before our eyes, and (which is his peculiar character) suggest much more than they express. Some examples will prove this better than what I say; which I shall extract solely from the life of Agricola.

*Passages of Tacitus full of spirit.*

1. Tacitus speaks of the Britons, who voluntarily supplied recruits, paid tributes, and submitted to all other impositions, when the governors sent from Rome acted with lenity and moderation; “but  
 “suffered cruelty and violent treatment with great  
 “reluctance; sufficiently subjected to obey, but not  
 “to



“ to be used like slaves.” *Has (injurias) ægrè tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant.* Cap. 13.

2. “ Agricola, having applied himself from the first year of his government to put a stop to these disorders, reinstated the desire of peace, which before, either through the negligence or collusion of his predecessors, was no less terrible than war.” *Hæc primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quæ, vel incuriâ vel tolerantia priorum, haud minus quam bellum timebatur.* Cap. 20.

3. Domitian’s reception of Agricola, at his return from his glorious campaigns, is one of the finest passages in Tacitus, but the spirit of it cannot be rendered in a translation: *Exceptus brevi osculo, & nullo sermone, turbæ servientium immixtus est.* “ After a short cool embrace, in which the emperor did not say one word, he was left to mix with the crowd of courtiers attending.” Cap. 40.

4. The same may be said of what immediately follows. Agricola, who perfectly knew the genius of the court, and how offensive the reputation of a successful general is to idle courtiers without merit, to soften the lustre of it, and to illude envy, thought proper to lead a quiet life remote from business: *Cæterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit.* “ He retained a moderate equipage, treated every body with affability, and went abroad in the company of only one or two friends; so that the generality of people, who usually judge of the merit of men by the splendor and magnificence of their train, when they saw and considered him, asked themselves whether that was the so much celebrated Agricola, and could scarce believe it was him under such an appearance.” *Cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus: adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æstimare mos est, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* How

are we to render these two last phrases, *quererent famam*, *pauci interpretarentur*, which have a profound sense, that it is almost necessary to guess? The historian has provided for this, in telling us people generally judge of great men by the splendor that surrounds them; *plerisque magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est*. He distinguishes two kinds of spectators. The one, which are the many, in seeing the modesty of Agricola's outside, inquired upon what his reputation could be founded, not perceiving the usual marks of it: *ut plerique quererent famam*. The others, and those the exceeding few, who did not judge by vulgar opinion, comprehended, that great merit might be concealed under a simple and modest appearance, and that the one was not incompatible with the other: *pauci interpretarentur*.

5. Tacitus sometimes mingles his facts with very judicious reflections. This he does in a wonderful manner, where he extols the wisdom and moderation with which Agricola managed and soothed the violent temper of Domitian, though himself had frequently experienced bad treatment from it: *Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse quem læseris, Domitiani verò natura præceps in iram, & quo obscurior, eo irrevocabilius, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricola leniebatur: quia non contumacia, neque inani jactatione libertatis, famam fatumque provocabat. Scient quibus moris illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eò laudis excedere, quò plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reip. usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt. Cap. 42.* “ Though it is of the nature of man to hate whom he has injured, and “ Domitian was excessively prone to anger, and “ the more irreconcilable, the more he concealed “ it, Agricola knew how to pacify him by his prudence and moderation. For he never aggravated “ his rage by contumacious behaviour, and was “ not

“ not so eager after fame, as to urge on his fate  
 “ for the empty reputation of a generous freedom  
 “ of speech. Let those who admire such a rash-  
 “ ness of generosity learn from him, that great  
 “ men may live under bad princes; and that sub-  
 “ mission and modesty, if supported with vigour  
 “ and industry, may acquire greater fame, than  
 “ many have aspired to by a bold and hardy be-  
 “ haviour, without any emolument to the public,  
 “ and with no other fruit to themselves, except a  
 “ more distinguished death.”

### QUINTUS CURTIUS (*Rufus.*)

*Antient  
History,  
Vol. VI.*

I have already observed elsewhere, that the time when Quintus Curtius lived is not precisely known. The learned are very much divided on this head; some placing him in the reign of Augustus or Tiberius, and others in that of Vespasian, and even of Trajan.

He wrote the history of Alexander the Great in ten books, of which the two first are not come down to us, and which have been supplied by Freinshemius. His style is florid, agreeable, and full of wise reflections; and he has many very fine harangues, but generally too long, and sometimes in the spirit of declamation. His thoughts, which are full of wit, and often very solid, have however an affected glitter and conceit, which do not entirely appear of the stamp of the Augustan age. It would be surprising enough, that Quintilian, in his enumeration of the Latin authors, should have omitted to mention an historian of the merit of Quintus Curtius, had the latter lived before him.

He is reproached with many faults of ignorance in respect to astronomy, geography, the dates of his events, and even the most known effects of nature, as having thought the moon indifferently eclipsed when new, and when at the full: *Lunam deficere; cum aut terram subiret, aut sole premeretur.*

*Lib. 4.  
C. 10.*

There



There is an excellent French translation of this author by Mr. Vaugelas.

### SUETONIUS. (*Caius Suetonius Tranquillus*)

SUETONIUS was the son of Suetonius Lenis, a tribune of the thirteenth legion, who was at the battle of Bedriacum, where the troops of Vitellius were defeated by Otho. He flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian. Sueton. in Othon. c. 10.

Pliny the Younger had a great affection for him, and was very desirous of having him always with him. He says, that the more he knew him the better he loved him, upon account of his probity, politeness, good conduct, application to letters, and erudition; and did him many services. Plin. l. 10. Ep. 100.

Suetonius composed a great number of books, which are almost all lost. Only his history of the first twelve emperors, and part of his treatise upon the celebrated grammarians and rhetoricians, are come down us.

This history is very much esteemed by the learned. He confines himself in it less to the affairs of the empire, than the persons of the emperors, whose particular actions, domestic behaviour, and inclinations in general, good or bad, he relates. He does not observe the order of time, and no history ever differed more from annals than this. He reduces the whole to certain general heads, setting down under each all that relates to it. His stile is strong and simple, in which it plainly appears, that he was more intent on truth than eloquence. He is blamed for having given too much licence to his pen, and for being as loose and debauched in his narrations, as the emperors, whose history he writes, in their lives.

### LUCIUS FLORUS.

FLORUS is believed to have been a Spaniard, of the family of the Seneca's, and to have had the names of *L. Annaeus Seneca* by birth, and of *L. Ju-*

*lius Florus* by adoption. We have an abridgement of his in four books of the Roman history from Romulus down to Augustus, which seems to have been written in Trajan's time. It has not the usual fault of abridgements, of being dry, barren, and insipid. Its style is elegant, agreeable, and has a kind of poetical vivacity in it: but in some places it has too much emphasis and pomp, and sometimes even bombast. It is not an abridgement of Livy, from whom he often differs. We have said before, that it is doubted whether the epitome's or summaries at the head of the books of Livy were written by Florus.

### JUSTIN.

JUSTIN is believed to have inscribed his abridgement of the history of Trogus Pompeius to Titus Antoninus: but that is not certain, there having been several emperors of the name of Antoninus. Trogus Pompeius was one of the illustrious writers of the time of Augustus, and is ranked amongst the historians of the first class, Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus. His work was of immense extent, and contained the Greek and Roman history entire down to the reign of Augustus. Justin has abridged it in the same number of books; for which we are not obliged to him, if it be true that his abridgement occasioned the loss of the original. We may judge of the purity and elegance of Trogus's style from the speech of Mithridates to his troops, which Justin has inserted entire in his thirty-eighth book. It is very long and indirect. For Justin takes notice, that Trogus did not approve the direct harangues introduced by Livy and Sallust in their histories. It is at the end of this speech, after having represented to his soldiers, that he is not going to lead them into the frightful solitudes of Scythia, but the most fertile and opulent region in the universe, that Mithridates adds: "Asia expects them with  
"impatience, and seems to offer them her hand,  
" whilst

“ whilst she loudly invokes their aid ; so much have  
 “ the rapaciousness of proconsuls, the oppressions  
 “ of tax-farmers, and the vexations of unjust tri-  
 “ bunals, inspired them with hatred and detesta-  
 “ tion of the Romans ;” *Tantumque se avida ex-  
 pectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet : adeo illis odium  
 Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publi-  
 canorum, calumnie litium.* The style of Justin is clear,  
 intelligible, and agreeable : we find in him from  
 time to time fine thoughts, solid reflections, and  
 very lively descriptions. Except a small number  
 of words and modes of speech, his Latinity is suf-  
 ficiently pure ; and it is very probable that he gene-  
 rally uses the words and even phrases of Trogus.

#### AUTHORS of the AUGUST HISTORY.

The lives of the Roman emperors from Adrian to Carinus is called *The August History*. Those authors are Spartianus, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiscus. They all lived in the reign of Dioclesian, though some of them wrote also under his successors. I shall not enter into a particular account of their works, which have no relation to my history.

#### AURELIUS VICTOR.

AURELIUS VICTOR lived in the reign of Constantius, and long after. He is believed to have been an African. He was born in the country, and the son of a very poor illiterate man. He seems to have been a Pagan at the time he wrote. His history of the emperors begins at Augustus, and goes on to the twenty-third year of Constantius.

We have also, of the same author's, an abridgement of the lives of illustrious men, almost all Romans, from Procas to Julius Cæsar. Others ascribe this little work to Cornelius Nepos, Æmilius Probus, &c. but Vossius maintains that it is Aurelius Victor's. This abridgement contains little more



than proper names and dates, and for that reason does not suit children who cannot learn much Latin from it.

### AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS was by nation a Greek, of a considerable family in the city of Antioch. He served many years in the Roman armies in the time of Constantius. He afterwards quitted the troops, and retired to Rome, where he wrote his history, which he divided into one and thirty books. He continued it from Nerva, where Suetonius ends, to the death of Valens. We have now only the last eighteen books, which begin at the end of the year 353, immediately after the death of Magnentius. Though he was a Greek, he wrote it in Latin, but in a Latin that favours much of the Greek and the soldier. This defect, says Vossius, is made amends for by the author's other qualities, who is grave, solid, judicious, very sincere, and a great lover of truth. His zeal for idols and their adorers, particularly for Julian the apostate, whom he makes his hero, is very evident; and on the contrary he appears much the enemy of Constantius. He does not however fail to treat both the one and the other with justice.

### EUTROPIUS.

EUTROPIUS wrote his abridgement of the Roman history in the reigns of Valentinian and Valens, but by order of the latter, to whom he inscribes it. To judge of it by his style, one would believe him rather a Greek than a Roman.

## CHAPTER III.

## O F O R A T O R S.

## I N T R O D U C T I O N.

I AM to speak in this place of the part of polite learning which has the most beauty, solidity, greatness, and splendor, and is of the most extensive use: I mean Eloquence. This is a talent, which exalts the orator above the vulgar of mankind, and almost above humanity itself: which renders him in some measure the guide and arbiter of the most important deliberations; which gives him an empire over the mind the more admirable, as it is entirely voluntary, and founded solely upon the force of reason placed in all its light: in a word, which enables him to sway the heart to his purposes, to overcome the most obstinate resistance, and to inspire such sentiments as he pleases, joy or sorrow, love or hatred, hope or fear, compassion or resentment. If we represent to ourselves the numerous assemblies of Athens or Rome, in which the greatest interests of those states are considered, and where the orator, from the tribunal of harangues, reigns by his eloquence over an immense people, who hear him with a profound silence interrupted only by applauses and acclamations: Of all that the world ever contained of magnificent in appearance, and most capable of dazzling the mind of man, is there any thing so grand, so soothing to to self-love, as This?

What still infinitely exalts the value of eloquence, according to the judicious reflection of Cicero, is the amazing scarcity of good orators in all ages. If we look back into all other professions, arts and sciences, we find numbers distinguished for excelling in them,

Lib. 1.  
Orat. n. 6,  
—16.

generals, statesmen, philosophers, mathematicians, physicians, in a word, great persons in every way. We cannot say the same entirely in respect to poets; I mean such as have attained perfection in their art: the number of these has always been extremely small, but however much greater than that of good orators.

What I now say ought to seem the more surprising, as, in respect to the other arts and sciences, it is generally necessary to imbibe them from sources devious and unknown, and not of common use; whereas the talent of speaking is a thing merely natural, that seems to be within every one's capacity, that has nothing in it obscure and abstracted, and of which one of the principal rules and most essential virtues is to express one's self clearly, without ever departing from nature.

It cannot be said, that, amongst the antients, the success of the other arts proceeded from a greater number of persons being induced by the allurements of rewards to apply themselves to them. As well at Athens as Rome, the two great theatres in which the talents of the mind shone out with most lustre, no study was ever cultivated more universally, nor with greater application and ardor, than that of eloquence. And we ought not to wonder at it. In republics like those, where all the affairs of the state were examined in common; where war and peace, alliances and laws, were deliberated upon either before the people or senate, or with both; and where every thing was determined by plurality of voices; the talent of speaking must necessarily have prevailed. Whoever spoke in these assemblies with most eloquence, became by necessary consequence the most powerful. Hence the youth, of any ambition, did not fail to apply themselves with the utmost diligence, to a study that alone opened the way to riches, credit, and dignities.

Whence therefore was it, that, notwithstanding the application and efforts of so great a number of  
 excel-



excellent geniusses, the great advantages in respect to fortune, and the attraction of so soothing a reputation, the number of excellent orators has always been so small? The reason is evident, and we ought to conclude, that of all the arts which are the object of human wit, eloquence must necessarily be the greatest, the most difficult, and that which requires the most talents, and talents entirely different and even opposite in appearance, for succeeding in it.

Every body knows that there are three kinds of stile, the great or sublime, the common or simple, and the mediate or florid, which holds the mean between the other two.

In the \* sublime kind, the orator employs whatever is most noble in the thoughts, most lofty in the expressions, most bold in the figures, and most strong and pathetic in the passions. His discourse is then like an impetuous torrent, incapable of being stopped or kept in, which in its violence bears away those that hear it, and forces them, whether they will or no, to follow it wheresoever it hurries them. But this is not the place for treating this subject, which would alone prove the extent of the talents necessary to eloquence.

The † simple stile is quite different. It is clear, pure, intelligible, and nothing more. It has no thoughts of soaring, and endeavours only to be understood. It values itself solely upon a peculiar purity of language, great elegance, and refined delicacy. If it sometimes ventures ornament, that

\* Grandiloqui [quidam] ut ita dicam fuerunt, cum ampla & sententiarum gravitate, & majestate verborum; vehementes, varii, copiosi, graves, ad permovendos & convertendos animos instructi & parati. *Cic. in Orat. n. 20.*

At ille qui saxa devolvat, & pontem indignetur, & ripas sibi faciat, multus & torrens judicem vel nitentem contra feret, cogetque ire qua rapit. *Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.*

† Contra [sunt quidam] tenues, acuti, omnia docentes, & dilucidiora non ampliora facientes, subtili quadam & pressa oratione limati—Alii in eadem jejunitate concinniores, id est, faceti, florentes etiam, & leviter ornati. *Orat. n. 20.*

ornament is entirely simple and natural. Horace's expression, *simplex munditiis*, is the best I can use to describe this stile, of which Phædrus and Terence are the most perfect models.

A third \* species of eloquence is in a manner the mean between the other two, and is therefore called the mixed, florid, or mediate stile. It has neither the delicacy of the latter, nor the force and thunder of the former. It borders upon both, but without attaining to, or resembling either. It participates of the one and the other, or, to speak more justly, it is neither the one nor the other. The orator, in this way, designedly uses the glitter of metaphors, the glow of figures, agreeable digressions, harmony of disposition, and beauty of thoughts; retaining always however the mild and temperate character peculiar to it: so that it may then be compared to a stream that rolls its silver waves through flowery banks shaded with verdant trees.

Each of these kinds of eloquence is highly estimable in itself, and acquires all writers that succeed in them great reputation. But the † sublime rises infinitely above the other two. It is this kind of eloquence which excites admiration, ravishes applause, and sets all the passions of the soul in motion; that sometimes, by its impetuosity, its thunders, throws

\* Est autem quidam interjectus medius, & quasi temperatus, nec acumine posteriorum, nec fulmine utens superiorum: vicinus amborum, in neutro excellens: utriusque particeps, vel utriusque (si verum quaerimus) potius expers. *Orat. n. 21.*

Medius hic modus, & translationibus crebrior, & figuris erit jucundior; egressionibus amoenus, compositione aptus, sententiis dulcis: lenior tamen, ut amnis lucidus quidam, & virentibus utrinque sylvis inumbratus. *Quintil. l. 12. c. 10.*

† Tertius est amplus, copiosus, gravis, ornatus, in quo profecto vis maxima est. Hic est enim, cujus ornatum dicendi & copiam admiratæ gentes, eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere passæ sunt: sed hanc eloquentiam, quæ cursu magno sonituque ferretur, quam suspicerent omnes, quam admirarentur, quam se assequi posse diffident. Hujus eloquentiæ est tractare animos, hujus omni modo permovere. Hæc modò perfringit, modò irrepit in sensus: inserit novas opiniones, evellit insitas, *Orat. n. 97.*

trouble

trouble and emotion into the mind, and sometimes insinuates itself with a majesty of sweetness, a dignity of softness, irresistibly tender and affecting.

It is the union of all these parts which forms the perfect orator; and it is easy to perceive how difficult and extraordinary it is for one man to possess so many different qualities. The enumeration, which we shall soon make of the antient Greek and Latin orators, will shew us some who have confined themselves with success to the two latter kinds, but very few who have been able to attain to the sublime, and still fewer who have succeeded in all three at the same time.

What renders success in this respect so difficult and extraordinary is, that the excellent qualities, which form the three kinds of style, have each a defect that borders very close upon them, which adorns itself with their name, which does indeed resemble them in some measure, but at the same time alters and vitiates them, by carrying them too far, by making simplicity degenerate into meanness, ornament into tinsel and glare, and the great and sublime into empty swell and bombast. For it is in style, as in virtue. There are in the one and the other certain bounds and modifications to be observed, beyond which lie the vicious extremes:

*Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,  
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.* Hor.

Extremes the more to be feared, as they seem to spring from virtue itself, and confound themselves with it.

The \* Greeks call this excess *κακόζηλον*, *vicious affectation*. It appears in the three kinds of style, when they exceed the bounds of the just and the

\* *Κακόζηλον*, id est, mala affectatio, per omne dicendi genus peccat—Ita vocatur quicquid est ultra virtutem, quoties ingenium iudicio caret, & specie boni fallitur: omnium in eloquentia vitiorum pessimum; nam cetera cum vitentur, hoc petitur. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 3.  
true,



true, when the imagination throws off the guidance of the judgment, and the mind is dazzled with a false appearance or the Good: This, in respect of eloquence, is the greatest and most dangerous of faults, because instead of being avoided like others, the phantom is pursued as merit.

There is also\* one virtue common to all the three kinds of style, with which I shall conclude. Amongst orators, and the same may be said of historians, poets, and all writers, there is an infinite variety of styles, geniusses, and characters, which occasions so great a difference between them, that scarce one can be found amongst them who perfectly resembles another. There is however a kind of secret resemblance and common tie between them, which makes them approach, and unites them with each other. I mean a certain delicacy and refinement of taste, a kind of tincture of the True and the Fine, a manner of thinking and expressing themselves, of which nature itself is the source; in fine, that Something it is easier to conceive than express, by which a reader of taste and sense discerns the works, both antient and modern, that bear the stamp of pure and elegant antiquity.

And this is what young persons, who desire to make any progress in polite learning, ought to make the principal object of their care and application: I mean to study in the works of the learned those natural beauties which are the growth of all ages and all languages, and to make themselves familiar with them by a serious and reiterated commerce with the authors wherein they are to be found, in order to attain so happy a taste as to discern them at first sight, and, if I may venture the expression, to perceive them like fragrant odours almost by the scent.

\* Habet omnia eloquentia aliquid commune. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 2.

## ARTICLE I.

## OF THE GREEK ORATORS.

## SECT. I.

*The Age in which eloquence flourished most at Athens.*

GREECE, \* so fertile in fine geniusses for all the other arts, was a long time barren in respect to eloquence, and, before Pericles, may in some measure be said to have only spoken like an infant, and that till then she had but a small idea of, and set little value upon the talent of speaking. It was at Athens that eloquence began first to appear with splendor. And it is not surprising that it was not in honour there, till after many ages. Eloquence does not usually grow up amidst the cares that are necessary in founding a state, and the tumult of wars. She is the friend of peace, and the companion of tranquillity, and requires, if I may venture the expression, for her cradle, a commonwealth already well established and flourishing.

But † what ought to appear surprising is, that eloquence, almost in her birth, and from her first appearance (which Cicero dates in the time of Pericles) should on a sudden attain to such an height of perfection. Before ‡ Pericles there was no work or discourse in which any trace of beauty or ornament

\* Græcia—omnes artes vetustiores habet, & multo antè non inventas solum, sed etiam perfectas, quam est à Græcis elaborata vis dicendi atque copia. In quam cum intueor, maxime mihi occurrunt, Atticæ, & quasi lucent Athenæ tuæ, qua in urbe primum se orator extulit.—Non in constituentibus Remp. nec in bella gerentibus—nasci cupiditas dicendi solet. Pacis est comes, otiique socia, & jam bene constitutæ civitatis quasi alumna quædam eloquentia. *Cic. in Brut. n. 26. & 45.*

† Hæc ætas prima Athenis oratorem prope perfectum tulit. *Ibid. n. 45.*

‡ Ante Periclem—litera nulla est, quæ quidem ornatum aliquem habeat, & oratoris esse videatur. *Ibid. n. 27.*

appeared,

appeared, or which expressed the orator; and his harangues displayed, even then, whatever is finest, most vigorous, and most sublime in eloquence.

Pericles, whose view was to render himself powerful in the republic, and to sway in the assemblies of the people, considered eloquence as the most necessary means for the attainment of those ends, and devoted himself wholly to it. The natural excellency of his genius supplied him with whatever was wanting for his success, and the great \* application he had before made to philosophy, under Anaxagoras, had taught him by what springs the human heart was to be moved and actuated at will. He employed with wonderful art sometimes the charms of insinuation to persuade, and sometimes the force of vehement passions to oppose and subdue. Athens, † who saw a new light shine out in her bosom, charmed with the graces and sublimity of his discourse, admired and feared his eloquence. It is ‡ observed, that, at the very time he opposed the passions of the people with a kind of inflexible obstinacy, he knew how to please them, and had the address to bring them over insensibly to his opinion. The comic poets, accordingly, in their satires upon him (for at that time they did not spare the most powerful) said to his praise, on one side,

\* In Phædro Platonis [*pag.* 270] hōc Periclem præstitisse ceteris dicit oratoribus Socrates, quod is Anaxagoræ Physici fuerit auditor: à quo censet eum, cum alia præclara quædam & magnifica didicisset, uberem & fecundum fuisse, gnarumque (quod est eloquentiæ maximum) quibus orationis modis quæque animorum partes pellerentur. *Cic. in Orat.* n. 15.

† Hujus suavitate maximè exhilaratæ sunt Athenæ, hujus ubertatem & copiam admiratæ; ejusdem vim dicendi terroremque timuerunt. *In Brut.* n. 44.

‡ Quid Pericles? de cujus dicendi copia sic accepimus, ut, cum contra voluntatem Atheniensium loqueretur pro salute patriæ, severius tamen id ipsum, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, populare omnibus & jucundum videretur. Cujus in labris veteres comici etiam cum illi maledicerent (quod tum Athenis fieri liceret) leporem habitasse dixerunt; tantamque in eo vim fuisse, ut in eorum mentibus quasi aculeos quosdam relinqueret. *De Orat.* l. 3. n. 138.

that



that the goddess of persuasion with all her charms, dwelt on his lips; and, on the other, that his discourse \* had the vehemence of thunder, and that it always left behind it a kind of stimulation in the souls of his hearers.

By this † extraordinary talent of speaking, Pericles retained during forty years, as well in war as peace, an entire authority over the most inconstant and capricious, and at the same time the most jealous people in the world of their liberty, whose discouragement in disgrace it was sometimes necessary to remove, as it was sometimes to abate their pride, and to check their rashness in success. Hence we may judge of the power and value of eloquence.

Though Pericles left no piece of eloquence behind him, he however deserves to be ranked at the head of the Greek orators; and the more, according to ‡ Cicero, because it was he who first taught Athens a taste for sound and perfect eloquence, placed it in honour, shewed its true ease and destination, and made its salutary effects evident by the success which attended his harangues.

I proceed now to speak of the ten Athenian orators, of whose lives Plutarch has given us an abridgement, and shall treat only those, who are most known, with some extent.

*Of the ten Greek orators.*

ANTIPHON.

ANTIPHON improved himself very much in his Plut de vit. decem Rhet. conversations with Socrates. He taught rhetoric; he also composed pleadings for such as had occasion

\* Ab Aristophane poëta fulgurare, tonare, permiscere Græciam dictus est. *Orat. n. 29.*

Ἡγραπὶ, ἰσχύοντα, ξυνεύχα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

† Itaque hic doctrina, consilio, eloquentia excellens, quadraginta annos præfuit Athenis, & urbanis eodem tempore & bellicis rebus. *Ibid.*

‡ Pericles primus adhibuit doctrinam, &c. *In Brut. n. 44.*

## OF GREEK ORATORS.

for them, and is believed to be the first that introduced that custom. His invention was warm and abundant, his style exact, his proofs strong, and he had a great felicity in answering unforeseen objections. He was no less successful in moving the passions, and in giving the persons he introduced speaking their just and peculiar characters. He was condemned to die for having favoured the establishment of the Four Hundred at Athens.

## ANDOCIDES.

**Plut.** ANDOCIDES was also the cotemporary of Socrates. He began to flourish twenty years before Lysias. He was brought to a trial as an accomplice in throwing down the statues of Mercury, which were all either thrown down or mutilated in one night, in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. He could extricate himself from this danger, only by promising to discover the guilty, in which number he included his own father, whose life, however, he saved. His style was simple, and almost entirely void of figures and ornaments.

## LYSIAS.

**Dionys.  
Halic. in  
Lys.**

LYSIAS was by origin of Syracuse, but born at Athens. At fifteen years of age he went to Thurium in Italy with two of his brothers in the new colony sent thither to settle. He continued there till the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, and then returned to Athens in the forty-eighth year of his age.

He distinguished himself there by his peculiar merit, and was always considered as one of the most excellent of the Greek orators, but in the simple and tranquil species of eloquence. Perspicuity, purity, sweetness, and delicacy of style, were his particular attributes. He was, says \* Cicero, a writer

\* Fuit Lysias—egregiè subtilis atque elegans, quem jam prope audeas oratorem perfectum dicere. *Cic. in Brut. n. 35.*

of great subtilty and elegance, in whom Athens might almost boast already of a perfect orator. Quintilian gives us the same idea of him. *Lyfias*\*, says he, is subtile and elegant, and, if it sufficed for an orator to instruct, none were more perfect than him. For he has nothing superfluous, nothing affected in his discourse. His stile however resembles more a small and clear stream, than a great river.

If *Lyfias* generally confined himself to that simplicity, and, as Cicero † calls it, leanness of stile, it was not because he was absolutely incapable of force and greatness: for, according to the same Cicero, there were very strong and nervous passages in his harangues. He wrote ‡ in that manner through choice and judgment. He did not plead at the bar himself, but composed pleadings for others; and to suit their character, was often obliged to use a simple stile with little or no elevation; without which those native graces, which were admirable in him, had been lost, and he had betrayed the secret himself. It was therefore necessary that his discourses, which he did not pronounce himself, should have a natural and negligent air, that requires great art, and is one of the most refined secrets of composition. In this manner the law for accused persons to plead their own causes without the help of advocates was eluded.

When Socrates was summoned before the judges to answer for his opinions concerning religion, *Lyfias* brought him a speech, which he had composed

Lib. i. de  
Orat. n.  
231.

\* *Lyfias* subtilis atque elegans, & quo nihil, si oratori satis sit docere, quæras perfectius. Nihil enim est inane, nihil accersitum: pro tamen fonti, quam magno flumini, propior. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

† In *Lyfia* sunt sepe etiam lacerti, sic ut nihil fieri possit valentius: verum est certe genere toto strigiosior. *Erut.* n. 64.

‡ Illud in *Lyfia* licendi textum tenuis atque rarum ætioribus numeris corrumperendum non erat. Perdideret enim gratiam, quæ in maxima est, simplicis atque inaffectati coloris: perdideret fidem quoque. Nam scribebat aliis, non ipse dicebat; ut conveniret esse ea rudibus & incompositis similia, quod ipsum compositio est. *Quintil.* l. 9. c. 4.

with



with abundance of care, and in which he had undoubtedly introduced whatever was capable of moving the judges. \* Socrates, after having read it, told him, that he thought it very fine and oratorical, but not consistent with the resolution and fortitude that became a philosopher.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes at large, and with abundance of taste and judgment, the character of Lysias's style, of which he enumerates the constituent parts, that are all of the simple and natural kind of eloquence I have spoken of. He even repeats some passages in one of his harangues, the better to make known his style.

### ISOCRATES.

A. M.  
3568.  
Ant. J. C.  
436.

ISOCRATES was the son of Theodorus the Athenian, who having enriched himself by making musical instruments, was in a condition to give his children a good education: for he had two more sons and one daughter. Isocrates came into the world about the 86th Olympiad, two and twenty years after Lysias, and seven before Plato.

He had an excellent education under Prodicus Gorgias, Tisias, and, according to some, Theramenes, that is to say, all the most famous rhetoricians of those times.

His inclination would have led him to follow the usual course of the young Athenians, and to have shared in the public affairs: but the weakness of his voice, and his almost unsurmountable timidity, not permitting him to venture appearing in public, he directed his views a different way. He did not however entirely renounce either the glory of eloquence, or the desire of rendering himself useful to the public, which were his ruling passions, and what the natural impediment of his voice denied him he conceived thoughts of attaining by

\* Illam orationem disertam sibi & oratoriam videri, fortem & virilem non videri.

the help of his industry and pen. Accordingly he applied himself diligently to composition, and did not, like the generality of the sophists, make chimerical and useless questions, or subjects of mere curiosity, the objects of his application, but solid and important topics of government, which might be of use to states, and even princes as well as private persons, and at the same time do honour to himself by the graces he should endeavour to diffuse throughout his writings. Isocrates himself informs us, in the exordium of his discourse, that these were his views.

In Panathen.

He exercised himself also in composing pleadings for such as had occasion for them, according to the custom general enough in those times, though contrary to the laws, which, as I have observed before, ordained that persons should defend themselves without using the help of others. But, as these pleadings drew trouble upon himself in consequence of the violation of the law, and obliged him to appear often before the judges, he renounced them entirely, and opened a school for the instruction of youth in eloquence.

By this new application, \* the house of Isocrates became, in respect to Greece in general, a fruitful nursery of great men, and, like the Trojan horse, none came out of it but illustrious persons. Though he did not appear in public at the bar, and confined himself within the walls of his school or study, he acquired a reputation to which none after him could attain, and was equally esteemed for the excellence

\* *Exstitit igitur Isocrates—(cujus domus cunctæ Græciæ quasi ludus quidam patuit atque officina dicendi) magnus orator & perfectus magister, quanquam forensi luce caruit, intraque parietes aluit eam gloriam, quam nemo quidem, meo judicio, est postea consecutus. Cic. in Brut. n. 32.*

Ex Isocratis ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes extiruerunt. *Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 94.*

Clarissimus ille præceptor Isocrates, quem non magis libri bene dixisse, quam discipuli bene docuisse testantur. *Quintil. l. 2. c. 9.*

of his compositions, and his art of teaching, as his writings and pupils sufficiently proved.

He had a wonderful capacity in discerning the force, genius, and character of his scholars, and in knowing how to exercise and direct their talents: \* a rare, but absolutely necessary, quality for succeeding in the important employment of instructing. Isocrates, in speaking of two of his most illustrious disciples, used to say, that in regard to Ephorus he used the spur, and to Theopompus the bridle, in order to quicken the slowness of the one, and check the too great vivacity of the other. The latter, in composing, gave a loose to his fire and imagination, and exhausted himself in bold and glowing expressions: him he curbed. The other, on the contrary, who was timid and reserved, regarded nothing but a rigid correctness, and never dared to venture the least excursion: to him he recommended soaring and the flights of imagination. His design was not to make them like each other: but by retrenching from the one, and adding to the other, to conduct each to the highest pitch of perfection of which his genius was susceptible.

Plat. de  
decem  
Orat. Gr.  
in Isocr.

Isocrates's school was of great use to the public, and at the same time of great gain to himself. He acquired more money in it than any sophist had ever done before him. He had generally more than an hundred scholars at five hundred drachma's (about twenty-five pounds) each, in all probability, for the whole time of their studying under him. For the honour of so great a master, I should be sorry if what is said of him in respect to Demosthe-

\* Diligentissime hoc est eis, qui instituunt aliquos atque erudiunt, videndum, quò sua quemque natura maxime ferre videatur.—Dicebat Isocrates, doctor singularis, se calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frænis uti solere. Alterum enim exultantem verborum audacia reprimebat, alterum cunctantem & quasi verecundantem incitabat. Neque eos similes effecit inter se, sed tantum alteri affinxit, de altero limavit, ut id conformaret in utroque, quod utriusque natura pateretur. *Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 36.*



nes were true, that he would not instruct him, because he was not able to pay the usual price. I chuse rather to hold with what Plutarch tells us in the same place, that Isocrates took nothing of the citizens of Athens, and only of strangers. So generous and disinterested a conduct suits much better with his character, and the excellent principles of morality diffused throughout all his works.

Besides his income from his school, he received great presents from considerable persons. Nicocles, king of Cyprus, and son of Evagoras, gave him twenty talents (about five thousand pounds) for the discourse inscribed with his name.

A very sensible saying of Isocrates is related: *Plut. ibid.* He was at table with Nicocreon king of Cyprus, and was pressed to talk, and supply matter for conversation. He persisted in excusing himself, and gave this reason for his refusal: *What I do know does not suit this place; and what would suit it I don't know.* This thought is very like that of Seneca: *\* I never desired to please the people: for they do not approve what I know, and I don't know what they approve.*

Isocrates, upon the news of the defeat of the Athenians by Philip at the battle of Chæronea, could not survive the misfortune of his country, and died of grief, after having continued four days without eating. He was then fourscore and eighteen, or an hundred years old. *Ibid.*

It is hard to describe the stile of Isocrates better than Cicero and Quintilian have done it: I shall cite their own words.

Cicero, after having related the favourable idea which Socrates had conceived of Isocrates whilst *In Orat. n. 41, 42.* very young, and Plato's magnificent praise of him when very old, though he seems the declared enemy of the rhetoricians, goes on thus describing his

\* Nunquam volui populo placere: nam, quæ ego scio, non probat; quæ probat populus, ego nescio. *Senec. Ep. 29.*

style: *Dulce igitur orationis genus, & solutum, & effluens, sententiis argutum, verbis sonans, est in illo epideictico genere, quod diximus proprium Sophistarum, pompæ quam pugne aptius, gymnasiis & palæstræ dicatum, spectum & pulsum foro.* “ This kind of eloquence is smooth, agreeable, flowing, and abounds with fine thoughts and harmonious expressions: but it has been excluded the bar, and transferred to the academies, as more proper for preparatory exercises, than real affairs.”

Lib. 10.  
c. 1.

The following is Quintilian's picture of it, and seems to have been copied from the former: *Isocrates in diverso genere dicendi* [he had just before spoken of Lysias] *nitidus & comptus, & palæstræ quam pugne magis accommodatus, omnes dicendi videres secutus est. Nec immeritò, auditoriis enim se, non judiciis compararat: in inventione facilis, honesti studiosus, in compositione adeo diligens, ut cura ejus reprehendatur.*

Lysias and Isocrates resembled each other very much in many points, as Dionysius Halicarnassensis shews at large: but the style of the latter is more smooth, flowing, elegant, florid, and adorned; his thoughts are more lively and delicate, with a disposition of words extremely laboured, and perhaps to excess. In a word, all the beauties and graces of eloquence, used by the sophists in the demonstrative kind, are displayed in his discourses, not designed for action and the bar, but pomp and ostentation.

Cicero, in many parts of his books *de Republica*, strongly insists, that Isocrates was, properly speaking, the first that introduced into the Greek tongue number, sweetness, and harmony, which before him were little known, and almost generally neglected.

It remains for me to explain one more quality of Isocrates, his love of virtue and good in general, which Quintilian expresses, *honesti studiosus*, and which, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, infinitely exalts him above all the other orators. He runs over his principal discourses to shew, that they

they have no other tendency but to inspire states, princes, and even private persons, with sentiments of probity, honour, fidelity, moderation, justice, love of the public good, zeal for the preservation of liberty, and respect for the sanctity of oaths, the faith of treaties, and for all that relates in any manner to religion. He advises all those, who have the government of states, and the administration of public affairs, confided to their care, to read and study those admirable books with singular attention, which contain all the principles of true and salutary policy.

## ISÆUS.

ISÆUS was of Chalcis in Eubœa. He went to Athens, and was the pupil of Lyfias, whose style he imitated so well, that in reading their discourses, it was hard to distinguish the one from the other. He began to appear with splendor after the Peloponnesian war, and lived to the time of Philip. He was Demosthenes's master, who gave him the preference to Isocrates, because the eloquence of Isæus was stronger, and more vehement than the other's, and for that reason suited better the warm and vigorous genius of Demosthenes.

Plut. in  
Iloc.

Isæo for-  
rentior.  
Juvon.

## LYCURGUS.

LYCURGUS was highly esteemed at Athens for his eloquence, and still more for his probity. Several important employments were conferred upon him, in which he always acquitted himself with success. The civil government of Athens was confided to his care, during which he made so severe a war upon malefactors, that he obliged them all to quit the city. He passed for a severe and inexorable judge, to which Cicero alludes in his letter to his friend Atticus: *Nosmetipsi, qui Lycurgei à principio fuissimus, quotidie demitigamur.*

Ad Attic.  
Ep. 13. l. 1.

Lycurgus was appointed quæstor, that is to say, receiver-general of the revenues of the common-



wealth, at three different times, and exercised that function during fifteen years. In that time fourteen thousand talents (about two millions sterling) passed through his hands, of which he gave an exact account. Before him the revenues of the city amounted only to \* sixty talents, and he augmented them to twelve hundred (about three hundred thousand pounds.) It was this quaestor, who, seeing one of the farmers of the revenue carrying the philosopher Xenocrates to prison, because he had not paid a certain tribute as a stranger at the time, took him from the officers, and made them carry the farmer thither in his stead, for having had the insolence and cruelty to treat a man of learning in that manner. That action was universally applauded. Lysurgus was one of the orators demanded by Alexander of the Athenians, to which they could not consent.

### ÆSCHINES. DEMOSTHENES.

*Method of  
studying  
the Bell's  
Letters.  
Vol. II.  
Antient  
History.  
Vol. VI.*

I have related at large elsewhere the history of these two celebrated orators, who were always each other's rival, and whose disputes did not cease till the banishment of Æschines. I have also treated their stile and eloquence in the same place; and as I have nothing to add to what I have said in respect to them, I shall content myself here with setting before the reader their pictures as drawn by Quintilian:

*Lib. 10.  
¶ 1.*

*Sequitur oratorum ingens manus, cum decem simul  
Athenæ ætas una tulerit; quorum longè princeps De-  
mosthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit: tanta vis in eo,  
tam densa omnia, ita quibusdam nervis † intenta sunt,  
tam nihil otiosum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quid desit in  
eo, nec quid redundet, invenias. Plenior Æschines, &*

\* This would be a very small revenue for such a city as Athens, and the augmentation surprisigly considerable; wherefore I do not know whether ἑξακόσια, six hundred, may not be read, instead of ἑξήκοντα, sixty.

† The metaphor here is not taken from the nerves of the body, but the strings of a bow, which being drawn to the utmost, discharge the arrows with extraordinary force and impetuosity.

*magis fufus, & grandiori fimilis, quo minus ftrictus eft; carnis tamen plus habet, lacertorum minus.* “ An infinite number of orators follow, for Athens had ten at one and the fame time; at the head of thefe was Demofthenes, who far furpaffed them all, and who deferves to be confidered almoft as the rule and ftandard of eloquence. His ftile is fo ftrong, his fenfe fo clofe and fo home, and every thing fo juft, fo proper and exact, that nothing can be added or retrenched from him. *Æſchines* is more abundant and diffufe. He feems greater, becaufe more loofe, and lefs collected in himfelf; he has however only more flefh with lefs nerves.”

## H Y P E R I D E S.

**HYPERIDES** had been at firft the hearer and difciple of Plato. He afterwards applied himfelf to the bar, where his eloquence was admired. \* His ftile had abundance of fweetnefs and delicacy, but was fit only for fmall caufes. He was joined with **Lycurgus** in the adminiftration of the public affairs, when **Alexander** attacked the Greeks, and always declared openly againft that prince. After the lofs of the battle of **Cranon**, the Athenians being upon the point of delivering him up to **Antipater**, he fled to **Ægina**, and from thence took refuge in a temple of **Neptune**, from whence he was taken by force, and carried to **Antipater** at **Corinth**, who put him to the moft cruel tortures, in order to draw from him fome fecrets and discoveries he wanted to know. But, left the violence of the pain ſhould force him to betray his friends and country, he bit off his tongue with his teeth, and expired in the torments.

Plut. in  
Hyper.

\* *Dulcis imprimis & acutus Hyperides: fed minoribus caufis, ut non dixerim utilior, magis par. Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.*

## DINARCHUS.

Plut. in  
Dinar.

DINARCHUS, according to some, was a native of Corinth, and came to settle at Athens when Alexander was pursuing his conquests in Asia. He was the disciple of Theophrastus, who had succeeded Aristotle in his school, and contracted a particular intimacy with Demetrius Phalereus. He did not plead himself, but composed pleadings for those who had occasion for them. He made Hyperides his model, or rather, according to others, Demosthenes, whose animated and vehement stile suited his genius better.

*Change of eloquence amongst the Greeks.*

The space of time between Pericles and Demetrius Phalereus, of whom we are going to speak, was the golden age of eloquence amongst the Greeks, and included about an hundred and thirty years. Before Pericles Greece had produced abundance of great men for government, policy, and war; besides numbers of excellent philosophers: but eloquence was very little known there. It was he, as I have already observed, who first placed it in honour, who demonstrated its force and power, and introduced the taste for it. This taste was not common to all Greece. Is there any mention in those times of any Argive, Corinthian, or Theban orator? It confined itself to Athens, that in the interval of which I am speaking, produced the great number of illustrious orators, whose merit has done it so much honour, and has rendered its reputation immortal. All that time may be called the reign of solid and true eloquence, which neither knows nor admits any other ornament, but natural beauty

Brut. n. 36. *Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam; & ut opinio mea fert, succus ille & sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in quo naturalis in-  
esset non fucatus nitor.*

As



As long as Greece proposed to herself these great orators for models, and imitated them with fidelity, the taste of sound eloquence, that is the manly and the solid, subsisted in all its purity. But, after their deaths, when she began insensibly to lose sight of them, and to follow different tracks, an eloquence of a new kind, more set off and embellished, succeeded the antient, and soon made it disappear. Demetrius Phalereus occasioned this change; of whom it remains for me to speak.

### DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS.

DEMETRIUS was surnamed *Phalereus* from Phalera, one of the ports of Athens, where he was born. The celebrated Theophrastus was his master.

I shall not repeat his history in this place, which Art. 1. is related with sufficient extent in the VIIIth volume. §. 5.

The reader may see there that Cassander, having made himself master of Athens some time after the death of Alexander the Great, confided the government of it to Demetrius, who retained it ten years, and acted with so much wisdom, that the people erected three hundred and sixty statues in honour of §. 7.

him: in what manner they were afterwards thrown down, and himself obliged to retire into Egypt, where Ptolomy Soter received him with great kindness: and, lastly, his imprisonment in the reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus, where he died by the bite of Art. 11. an asp. §. 3.

I consider Demetrius Phalereus here only as an orator, and am to shew in what manner he contributed to the decline and destruction of eloquence at Athens.

I have already said that he had been the disciple of Theophrastus, so called from his excellent and *divine manner of speaking*. He had acquired under him a florid and elegant stile, abounding with ornaments; and had exercised himself in that kind of eloquence, which is called the *temperate* or *mediate*,  
which

which keeps the mean between the sublime and simple; admits all the ornaments of art; employs the shining graces of elocution and the glitter of thoughts; in a word, which abounds with the sweet and agreeable, but is void of force and energy, and with all its glow and embellishment rises no higher than mediocrity. Demetrius excelled in this manner of writing, which is highly capable of pleasing and exciting admiration of itself, if not compared with the sublime kind, the solid and majestic beauty of which makes the faint lustre of its slight and superficial charms appear like nothing. \* It was easy to perceive from his flowing, sweet, agreeable style, that he had been the scholar of Theophrastus. His shining expressions and happy metaphors, says Cicero, were a kind of stars, that glittered in his discourse, and made it luminous.

The mind is generally apt enough to be dazzled by this kind of eloquence, which illudes the judgment by pleasing the imagination. And this happened now at Athens, where † Demetrius was the first who struck at the antient solid taste, and began the corruption of eloquence. His sole view in speaking to the people, was to please them. He was for shewing the mildness and benevolence of his disposition, which indeed was his character: but the smooth terms and accent, in which he conveyed it, tickled the ears of his auditors without going farther, and only left behind it a pleasing remembrance of a sweet and harmonious disposition of studied words and thoughts. It was not like the victorious elo-

\* Orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophrasti discipulum agnosceres. *Offic. l. 1. n. 3.*

Cujus oratio cum sedatè placidèque loquitur, tum illustant eam quasi stellæ quædam tralata verba atque inmutata. *Orat. n. 92.*

† Hic primus inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit: & suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit quàm gravis: sed suavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret; & tantum ut memoriam concinnitatis suæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum, à quibus esset auditus. *Brut. n. 38.*

quence of Pericles, which whilst it abounded with charms, was armed with thunder and lightning, and left in the mind of the hearer, not only a sense of pleasure and delight, but a lively impression, a kind of resistless impulse, that reached and engrossed the heart.

This showy eloquence may sometimes be applicable on occasions of pomp and splendor, in which no other ends are proposed, but to please the auditors, and to display wit, as in the case of panegyrics, provided however that wise restrictions be observed, and the liberty allowed to this kind of discourse be kept within just bounds. Perhaps also this species of eloquence would have been less dangerous, if it had been confined to the private assemblies of the rhetoricians and sophists, who admitted only an inconsiderable number of hearers. But that of Demetrius had a far more ample theatre. It appeared before the whole people; so that this manner of speaking, if applauded, as it always was, became the rule of the public taste. No other language was heard at the bar, and the schools of rhetoric were obliged to conform to it. All declamations, which were their principal exercise, and of which the invention is ascribed to our Demetrius, were formed upon the same plan. In proposing his stile to themselves, they did not keep within the bounds he had observed: for he was excellent in parts, and merited praise in many things. But as for them, elocution, thoughts, figures, every thing, as is usual, were strained and carried to excess. This bad taste made its way with rapidity into the provinces, where it still grew much more corrupt. As soon \* as eloquence had quitted the Piræus in this condition, and dispersed itself into the islands, and over Asia, it lost that Attic health and vigour it

\* Ut semel à Piræo eloquentia evecta est, omnes peragravit insulas, atque ita peregrinata tota Asia est, ut se externis oblineret moribus, omnemque illam salubritatem Atticæ dictionis quasi sanietem perderet, ac loqui pece dediceret. *Brut. n. 51.*



had preserved so long at home, assumed the manners of strangers, and almost unlearned to speak; so great and precipitate was its decline. We have this description of it from Cicero.

The ruin of liberty at Athens partly conduced to hasten that of eloquence. The great men, who had done it so much honour by the talent of speaking, appeared there no more. Only some rhetoricians and sophists, dispersed in the several parts of Greece and Asia, supported in some small degree its antient reputation. I have spoken of them elsewhere.

But what is most surprising, some ages after, eloquence resumed new force, and appeared again with almost as much splendor as of old at Athens. It is plain that I mean those happy times in which the Greek fathers made so laudable and holy an use of this talent. For I am not afraid to compare St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, and some others, with the most celebrated orators of Athens. I have inserted several extracts from them in the second volume of the treatise upon study, especially from St. Chrysostom, which in my opinion are not inferior to the orations of Demosthenes, either in beauty of stile, solidity of argument, greatness of matter, or force and vehemence of passions. The reader may consult those passages, which dispenses with my giving new proofs of what I advance here; and I believe he will agree with me, that there is nothing finer or more eloquent to be found in all the writings of antient Greece.

We shall soon see that the Latin eloquence has not the same good fortune. As soon as it began to decline, after having shone out with extraordinary lustre for some years, it continually languished, and sunk by degrees sufficiently rapid, till it fell at last into a state of corruption, from which it has never since raised itself. And this is what I am to shew in the following article.

## ARTICLE II.

## OF THE LATIN ORATORS.

**R**OME, intent at first upon strengthening herself in her new establishment, then upon extending her dominions continually around her, and afterwards on pushing her conquests into remote regions, devoted her whole care and application for many ages to military exercises, and continued during all that time without taste for the arts and sciences in general, and in particular for eloquence, of which she had hitherto scarce any idea. \* It was not till after she had subjected the most powerful nations, and established herself in peace and tranquillity, that her commerce with the Greeks began to reform her grossness and kind of barbarity in respect to the exercises of the mind. The Roman youth, who seemed then to awake out of a profound sleep, became sensible to a new species of glory unknown to their ancestors, and began to open their eyes, and conceive a taste for eloquence.

In order to give some idea of the beginning, progress, perfection, and decline of eloquence, I shall divide the Roman orators into four ages, but shall expatiate only upon such of them as are most known either by their works or reputation.

## S E C T. I.

*First age of the Roman Orators.*

**T**HE Romans, in the arms of peace, the friend of science, and mother of leisure, made at first some efforts for the attainment of eloquence.

\* Postea quàm imperio omnium gentium constituto, diuturnitas pacis otium confirmavit, nemo fere laudis cupidus adolefcens non sibi ad dicendum studio omni enitendum putavit. *Lib. 1. de Orat.*  
Z. 17.

\* But

*Antient  
History,  
Vol. I.  
Part 2.*

*Lib. 2. de  
Orat.  
n. 155.*

*Cic. in  
Brut. n. 65.*

\* But, as they were entirely ignorant of the means it was necessary to use for acquiring it, and had no other guide but their own reason and reflections they made but little progress. It was necessary to call in conquered Greece to the aid of her victors. As soon as the Grecian rhetoricians had been heard at Rome, had taught there, and their books began to be read, the Roman youth conceived an incredible ardour for eloquence. We have seen elsewhere what difficulties it met with on its first entrance into Rome, and what obstacles it had to surmount for establishing itself there. But it is of the nature of eloquence to conquer opposition, and to force the barriers laid in its way. It got the better at Rome, notwithstanding the endeavours of Cato who, though a great orator himself, was against the people's devoting themselves too much to the arts of Greece; and in a short time became the reigning study there. The greatest men afterwards as Scipio and Lælius, had always learned Greek about them, from whom they made it their glory to receive lessons.

To proceed to the orators of the first age, the most known are Cato the Censor, the Gracchi Scipio Æmilianus, and Lælius. They had excellent natural parts, a wonderful fund of wit, great order in their discourse, force in their proofs, solidity in their thoughts, and energy: but neither art, delicacy, grace, care in the arrangement of words, nor knowledge of the numbers and harmony of speech.

CATO had composed an infinite number of orations. More than an hundred and fifty of them were extant in Cicero's time: but they were no

\* Ac primò quidem totius rationis ignari, qui neque exercitationis ullam viam, neque aliquod præceptum artis esse arbitrarentur, tantum, quantum ingenio & cogitatione poterant, consequantur. Post autem, auditis oratoribus Græcis, cognitisque eorum literis, adhibitisque doctõribus, incredibili quodam nostri homines dicendi studio flagraverunt. *Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 14.*

read



read. \* He affirms however that his eloquence wants only those lively figures, and glowing colours, which were not known in his time.

The GRACCHI distinguished themselves also by an eloquence manly and vigorous, but void of ornaments. Cicero has preserved some lines of a discourse spoken by young Gracchus after his brother's death, which are very lively and pathetic, and which he has imitated himself in the peroration of his defence of Murena: *Quò me miser conferam? quò veritam? In capitoliumne? at fratris sanguine redundat. An domum? matremne ut miseram lamentantemque videam, & abjectam?* "Where shall I go, whither shall I turn myself, miserable as I am? Shall it be to the capitol? but that still reeks with my brother's blood. Shall I go home? what, to behold my mother's sorrow, to hear her mourn, and see her lying inconsolable on the ground?" If the rest of his discourse resembled these few lines, it did not give place in any thing to those of Cicero. † In pronouncing them, every thing spoke in him, his eyes, voice, gesture; so that his enemies themselves could not refrain from tears. Aulus Gellius has preserved two fragments of the discourse of C. Gracchus, which are not of the same taste with that cited by Cicero. They are elegant, but cold, though the subject is weighty and affecting. It was the same Gracchus who had always a slave behind him with a flute, to give him notice when to raise or lower his voice.

Lib. 3. de  
Orat.  
n. 215.

Lib. 10.  
c. 3.

Quintilian frequently opposes the stile of the age we speak of to that of his own times, and gives an excellent precept on that head. "Youth†, says he, have

\* Intelliges nihil illius lineamentis nisi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem & colorem defuisse. *Brut. n. 298.*

† Quæ sic ab illo acta esse constabat, oculis, voce, gestu, inimici ut lacrymas tenere non possent. *Brut. n. 298.*

‡ Duo genera maxime cavenda pueris puto. Unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum Catonisque, & aliorum similitudine lectioe durefcere velit: sicut enim horridi & jejuni.—  
Alterum

“ have two great faults to shun. The first would  
 “ be, if, upon the recommendation of any excessive  
 “ admirer of the antients, they should study and  
 “ imitate the orations of Cato, the Gracchi, and  
 “ the like authors; for that would render their stile  
 “ stiff, dry, and rugged. The opposite fault is  
 “ their being charmed with the glittering pretti-  
 “ ness, the finery of the soft effeminate stile now in  
 “ fashion, and spoiling their taste by a fondness for  
 “ a gaudy luscious kind of eloquence, the more  
 “ dangerous for them, as the more grateful to their  
 “ age and character. But, when their judgment is  
 “ formed, and they are safe on that side, I would  
 “ advise them, continues he, to read the antients,  
 “ whose strong and manly eloquence, when sepa-  
 “ rated from the rudeness and inelegance of the  
 “ gross age in which they lived, will sustain, and  
 “ even exalt, the beauties and ornaments of ours.  
 “ I would also exhort them to study the moderns  
 “ attentively, who are excellent in parts, and may  
 “ be of great use to them.”

I thought this passage of Quintilian proper in this place for explaining the stile of the times in question: besides which it includes very judicious advice, that the youth of the present age may also apply to their advantage.

I shall not enter into the character of the eloquence of Scipio and Lælius, and assure myself, that, though it favoured of the age they lived in, it was far from the roughness of Cato's and the Gracchi. I shall only relate here a fact highly for the honour of Lælius, and which shews how far he carried his candour and integrity. He had taken upon him the care of a very important cause, and

Brut. n. 85.  
—88.

Alterum quod huic diversum est, ne recentis hujus lasciviæ flosculi<sup>s</sup> capti, voluptate quadam prava deliniantur ut prædulce illud genus & puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quo propius est, adamant. Firmis autem judiciis, jamque extra periculum positis, suaserim & antiquos legere, ex quibus si assumatur solida ac virilis ingenii vis, deterso rudis sæculi squalore, tum noster hic cultus clariùs enitescet; & nos, quibus & ipsis multa virtus adest. *Quintil. l. 2. c. 6.*

pleaded

pleaded it with abundance of eloquence. The judges however did not think his arguments sufficient to determine their sentence, and referred it to another hearing. Lælius laboured it anew, and pleaded it a second time, but with the same success as before. Upon which, without farther delay, he obliged his clients to put their cause into the hands of Galba, a famous orator of those times, who was more vehement and pathetic than him. It was not without great difficulty, that he was prevailed upon to undertake it; however he carried it unanimously by his first pleading. "It was then, as in all other things, the better and more humane custom, says Cicero, to be easy in doing justice to the merit of others, though at one's own expence:" *Erat omnino tum mos, ut in reliquis rebus melior, sic in hoc ipso humanior: ut faciles essent in suum cuique tribuendo.*

## S E C T. II.

*Second age of the Roman orators.*

I Shall place four orators in this second age: Antony and Crassus, more advanced in years; and Cotta and Sulpitius, younger men. They are hardly known by any thing but what Cicero tells us of them in his books of rhetoric. He \* observes it was under the two first that the Roman eloquence, having attained a kind of maturity, began to be capable of entering the lists with that of the Greeks.

ANTONY, in his voyage to Cilicia, whither he went proconsul, stopped for some time at Athens and in the island of Rhodes upon different pretexts, but in reality for the opportunity of conversing with the most able rhetoricians, and in order to improve himself in eloquence by their instructions. He however always affected from thenceforth to ap-

Lib. 1. de  
Orat. n. 8.  
Lib. 2. de  
Orat. n. 3.

Ibid. n.  
153.

\* Quod idcirco posui, ut dicendi Latine prima maturitas in qua ætate extitisset, posset animadverti. *Cic. in Brut. n. 161.*

Ego sic existimo—in his primum cum Græcorum gloria Latine dicendi copiam æquatam. *Ib. n. 138.*



pear of ignorant of what the Greeks taught in respect to the art of speaking, with the view of rendering his eloquence thereby the less suspected. And \* he accordingly was generally supposed by his hearers to come to the bar, and to plead his causes, almost without preparation. But, in reality, he was so well prepared, that the judges were often not enough so in their distrust of him. Nothing for the success of his cause escaped him. He knew how to dispose every proof in the place where it made most impression. He was less attentive to the delicacy and elegance of his terms, than to their force and energy. He seemed to regard only things in themselves and right reason: in a word, he had all the great qualities of an orator, and supported them wonderfully by the force and dignity of his utterance.

Lib. 2. de  
Orat. n.  
197—203.

In the second book of the Orator he traces the plan himself of an oration which he pronounced in defence of Norbanus, who was justly prosecuted as the author of a sedition: a cause, as it is easy to conceive, of a very tender and difficult nature. He treated it with such art, force, and eloquence, as wrested the criminal from the severity of the judges: and he confesses himself, that he carried his cause less by the strength of reason, than the vehemence of the passions he knew how to introduce with judgment. *Ita magis affectis animis Judicium, quam doctis, tua, Sulpiti, est à nobis tum accusatio victa.* Sulpitius, the advocate on the other side, had notwithstanding left the judges perfectly convinced of the justice of his cause, and highly incensed against Norbanus: *Cum tibi ego, non judicium, sed incendium tradidissem.* Nothing is more capable of forming young pleaders than the plan of this harangue: but

\* Erat memoria summa, nulla meditationis suspicio. Imparatus semper aggredi ad dicendum videbatur: sed ita erat paratus, ut Judices, illo dicente, nonnunquam viderentur non satis parati ad cavendum fuisse. *Brut.* n. 139.

they ought not to imitate the use Antony made at that time of his talents for saving a criminal from the punishment he deserved.

CRASSUS was the only orator that could be ranked with Antony, and some give him the preference to the other. He was but three years younger than him. His peculiar character was \* an air of gravity and dignity, which he knew how to temper with an insinuating politeness, and even refined pleasantry and raillery, that never forgot the decency of the orator. His language was pure and correct with elegance, but easy and void of affectation. He explained himself with wonderful clearness, and exalted the beauty of his discourse by the strength of his proofs, and agreeable allusions and similitudes.

When Crassus had to do with persons of merit and reputation, he took care to proceed with tenderness and reserve, and employed no raillery in respect to them that could shock or offend: *in quo genere nulli aculei contumeliarum inerant.* † A moderation very extraordinary in those who value themselves upon pleasantry, and who find it very hard to keep in a smart saying when it comes uppermost, and which they think it for their honour to vent. But he behaved differently in respect to such as gave room for it by their bad conduct. One Brutus, of whom I am going to speak, was of this number. He had taken up the business of an accuser for the sake of the rewards granted by the laws to such as convicted criminals: a calling which was looked upon at Rome as highly unworthy of a man of condition and probity, though a young man was approved there for making himself known by accusing

\* Erat summa gravitas : erat cum gravitate junctus facetiarum & urbanitatis oratorius non scurrilis lepos. Latine loquendi accurata & sine molestia diligens elegantia, &c.

† Quod est hominibus facietis & dicacibus difficillimum, habere hominum rationem & temporum, & ea, quæ occurrant, cum salustissime dici possunt, tenere. 2. de Orat. n. 221.

some person of importance. This Brutus was universally scandalous as a prodigal who had squandered his estate in excesses and debauchery. Pleading one day against Crassus, he caused two speeches of that orator to be read, in which he had manifestly contradicted himself. Crassus was highly nettled, and knew well how to be even with him. For that purpose he caused three dialogues of Brutus's father to be read also, in each of which, according to a custom common enough, mention was made in the beginning of the country-house where the conversation was supposed to be held. After having by this method introduced the names and reality of three estates which his father had left him, he asked him with bitter reproaches what was become of them?

An \* accidental circumstance gave Crassus occasion to treat him in the same cause with a quite different force and vivacity, and to unite the most severe invectives with raillery. Whilst they were pleading in the forum, where every body knows all great causes were tried, the funeral procession of a Roman lady passed by, at the head of which, according to the ceremonies practised on such occasions at Rome, the images of her ancestors were carried: she was of the family of the *Junii*, of

\* *Quis est qui non fateatur, hoc lepore atque iis facetiis non minus refutatam esse Brutum, quam illis tragædiis, quas egit idem, cum casu in eadem causa cum funere esseretur anus Junia? Proh dii immortales! Quæ fuit illa, quanta vis, quam inexpectata, quam repentina! cum, conjectis oculis, gestu omni imminente, summa gravitate & celeritate verborum: Brute, quid sedes? Quid illam anum patri nunciare vis tuo? Quid illis omnibus, quorum imagines duci vides? Quid Lucio Bruto, qui hunc populum dominatu regis liberavit? Quid te facere? Cui rei, cui gloriæ, cui virtuti studere? Patrimonia augendo? At id non est nobilitatis. Sed fac esse. Nihil superest: libidines totum dissipaverunt. An juri civili? Est paternum. Sed &c.——An rei militari, qui nunquam castra videris? An eloquentiæ, quæ nulla est in te, & quicquid est vocis ac linguæ, omne in istum turpissimum calumniæ questum contulisti? Tu lucem aspicere audes? Tu hos intueri? Tu in foro, tu in urbe, tu in civium esse conspectu? Tu illam mortuam, tu imagines ipsas non perhorrescis: quibus non modo imitandis, sed ne collocandis quidem tibi nullum locum reliquisti? Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 223—226.*



which that of Brutus was a branch. Upon this unexpected sight, Crassus, as if transported with a sudden enthusiasm, fixing his eyes on Brutus, with the most animated voice and gesture: “Why do you sit, Brutus? said he, What news would you have this good old lady carry to your father, and to those great men, whose images you see borne before her? What shall she say of you to your ancestors, and particularly to Lucius Brutus, who delivered this people from the tyranny of kings? What shall she tell them you do? What business, what glory, what virtue shall she say you study? Is it to increase your patrimony? That would not suit your birth; besides your debauches have entirely eaten up that. Is it the civil law? Your father’s example might induce you to it; but of that you don’t so much as know the most common principles. Is war your study? No, you never saw a camp. Or eloquence? Of that too you know nothing: and as for the volubility of your tongue and the strength of your lungs, you devote them wholly in this place to the vile and execrable traffic of gain by calumnies. And do you dare to see the sun? To look the judges in the face, to appear at the bar, in the forum, the city, and in the sight of the people? Are you not struck with shame and horror at this procession, that deceased lady and those venerable images, whose glory you dishonour so much by your infamous practices?” A passage like this suffices to shew us what we are to judge of the character and merit of Crassus’s eloquence.

To this rare talent he added great knowledge of the civil law; in which however Scævola far exceeded him. He was the most learned civilian, and one of the most celebrated orators of his time: They \* were both almost of the same age, had passed through

\* Illud gaudeo, quod & æqualitas vestra, & pares honorum gradus, & artium studiorumque quasi finitima vicinitas, tantum abest

through the same dignities, and applied themselves to the same functions and studies. This resemblance, and kind of equality, far from exciting the least thought of jealousy, as it often happens, and from making the least change whatsoever in their friendship, only served to improve and augment it.

I shall say only a few words of the two young orators, Cotta and Sulpitius, who at this time made a shining figure at the bar. The character of their eloquence was quite different.

COTTA'S \* invention was penetrating and acute: his elocution pure and flowing. As the weakness of his lungs obliged him to avoid all violent exertions of voice, he took care to adapt his stile and manner of composing to the infirmity of his organs. Every thing in it was just, neat, and strong. But, what was most admirable in him, as he could make no very great use of the vehement and impetuous stile, and consequently could not influence the judges by the vigour of his discourse; he had however the address, in treating his matter, to produce the same effect upon them by his calm and composed manner, as Sulpitius by his ardent and animated eloquence.

The stile of SULPITIUS, on the contrary, was † lofty, vehement, and, to use the expression, tragical.

His

ab obtreptione invidiæ, quæ solet lacerare plerosque, uti ea non modò non exulcerare vestram gratiam, sed etiam conciliare videatur. *Brut.* n. 156.

\* Inveniebat igitur acutè Cotta, dicebat purè ac solutè: & ut ad infirmitatem laterum perscipienter contentionem omnem remiserat, sic ad virium imbecillitatem dicendi accommodabat genus. Nihil erat in ejus oratione nisi sincerum, nihil nisi siccum, atque sanum: illudque maximum, quòd, cum contentione orationis flectere animos Judicum vix posset, nec omnino eo genere diceret, tractando tamen impellebat, ut idem facerent à se commoti, quod à Sulpitio concitati. *Brut.* n. 202.

† Fuit enim Sulpitius vel maxime omnium, quos quidem ego audiverim, grandis, & ut ita dicam, tragicus orator. Vox cum magna, tum suavis & splendida: gestus & motus corporis ita venustus, ut tamen ad forum non ad scenam institutus videretur. Ingitata & volubilis, nec ea redundans tamen, nec circumfluens oratio.

His voice was strong, sweet, and clear; the gesture and motion of his body extremely graceful and agreeable; but that grace of action suited the bar, not the stage. His discourse was rapid and abundant, but without any vicious redundance or superfluity. Sulpitius made Crassus his model; Cotta was better pleased with Antony. But the latter had neither Antony's force, nor the former Crassus's pleasantry.

There was a remarkable difference between Cotta and Sulpitius. The latter was cut off in his youth, whereas Cotta lived to an advanced age, was consul, and pleaded with Hortensius, who was however much younger than him.

The example of Cotta and Sulpitius shews, that two orators may both be excellent without resembling each other; and that the important point is to discern aright, to what nature or genius inclines us, and to take her for our guide. These had the good fortune to find two great masters and most friendly guides in Antony and Crassus, who spared no pains, and made it their pleasure, to form them for eloquence.

## S E C T. III.

*Third age of the Roman orators.*

**T**HIS is the golden age of the Roman eloquence, which was of short duration, but shone out with great lustre, and almost equalled Rome with Athens. It produced a great number of excellent orators, Hortensius, Cæsar, who would have been an orator of the first class, if he had kept to the bar; Brutus, Messala, and many others, who all acquired great reputation amongst the Romans, though their orations are not come down to us. But Cicero obscures the glory of all the rest, and

tio. Crassum hic volebat imitari, Cotta malebat Antonium. Sed ab hoc vis aberat Antonii, Crassi ab illo lepos. *Ibid.* n. 203.



Vol. II.

may be considered as the most perfect model of the Roman eloquence that ever appeared in the world. I must desire the reader's permission for referring him to the treatise upon study, where I have expatiated largely upon Cicero, and the character of his eloquence, of which, for that reason, there remains little for me to say.

Lib. 2. de  
Orat. n. 2.

He was indebted to nature for an happy genius, which his father took care to cultivate in a particular manner, under the direction of Crassus, who laid down the plan of his studies. He had the most able masters of those times at Rome, and went afterwards into Greece and Asia minor, to learn the precepts of Oratory at their source.

His brother \*Quintus believed, that nature alone, with the aid of frequent exercise, sufficed to form the orator. Cicero was of a very different opinion, and was convinced, that the talent of speaking could only be acquired by a vast extent of erudition. Accordingly, persuaded that, without the most tenacious application, and an ardor that rose almost to passion, nothing great could be attained, he devoted himself wholly to laborious study. The fruits of it soon appeared, and, from his first shewing himself at the bar, he was distinguished by universal applause.

He had a fertile, warm, and shining wit; a rich and lively imagination; a polished, florid, abundant, and luxuriant style; which last quality is no fault in a young orator. Every body knows, that Cicero, when master of the art, in laying down rules, is for having youth display fertility and abundance in their compositions: *Volo se efferat in adolescente fecunditas.*

Lib. 2. de  
Orat. n.  
88.

Quintilian † often and strongly recommends to masters,

\* Soles nonnunquam hac de re à me in disputationibus nostris dissentire, quod ego eruditissimorum hominum artibus eloquentiam contineri statui; tu autem illam ab elegantia doctrinæ segregandam putes, & in quodam ingenii atque exercitationis genere ponendam. *Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 5.*

† In pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi nec sperari potest: melior autem est iuoles læta generosique conatus, & vel plura concipiens interim

ters, not to expect or require finished and perfect discourses from their disciples. He prefers a bold freedom in their exercises, which grows wanton whilst it makes efforts, and exceeds the bounds of the exact and the just. It is easy to correct abundance, but there is no curing sterility.

Cicero himself cites an example of this luxuriant and too florid style from his own defence of Roscius Amerinus, who was accused of parricide. In a great common-place upon parricide, after having described the punishment established by the Roman laws for such as were convicted of it, which was to sow them up in a leathern bag, with a dog, a cock, a serpent, and an ape, and to throw them into the sea, he adds the following reflection, to shew the enormity of the crime by the singularity of the punishment, the choice of which seems to have had in view the excluding of an ungrateful wretch from the use of all nature, who had been so unnatural to deprive his father of life: *Quid est tam commune quam spiritus vivis, terra mortuis, mare fluctuantibus, littus ejectis? Ita vivunt, dum possunt, ut ducere animam de cælo non queant: ita moriuntur, ut eorum ossa terra non tangat: ita jactantur fluctibus, ut nunquam abluantur: ita postremo ejiciuntur, ut ne ad saxa quidem mortui conquiescant, &c.* “What is  
 “there so common as the air we breathe to the  
 “living, the earth to the dead, the water to those  
 “who go by sea, and the shore to those who are  
 “driven by the waves. By the invention of this  
 “punishment, these unhappy wretches, during  
 “the short time they retain life in it, live without  
 “power to respire the air, and die in such a manner, that their bones cannot touch the earth:  
 “they are tossed to and fro in the waves, without  
 “being washed by them; and are driven against

In Orat.  
 n. 107,  
 108.

Pro Rosc.  
 Amer. n.  
 75.

interim spiritus—Facile remedium est ubertatis: sterilia nullo labore vincuntur. *Quintil. l. 2. c. 4.*

“ the

“ the rocks and shores, so as never to rest or lie  
“ still even in death.”

The whole \* passage upon the punishment of parricides, and especially that part of it just quoted, was received with extraordinary applause. But Cicero, some time after, began to perceive, that this common-place favoured too much of the young man (he was then twenty-seven years old) and that if he had been applauded, it was less from any real beauty in the passage, than the hopes and promise he then gave of his future merit. And indeed this passage has nothing in it but a glitter without solidity, which dazzles for a moment, but will not bear the least serious examination. The thoughts are far-fetched and unnatural, with a studied affectation of Antithesis and Contrast,

In Brut.  
n. 316.

Cicero very much reformed his taste, and, after going to Athens, and into Asia minor, where, as celebrated as he was for pleading, he became the disciple of the learned rhetoricians who taught there, he returned to Rome almost entirely changed from what he was when he left it. † Molo the Rhodian in particular was of great use to him, in teaching him to retrench the superfluity and redundance that proceeded from the warmth and vivacity of his years, and in accustoming him to a less diffused style, to keep within just bounds, and to give his discourse more weight and maturity.

Belles  
Lettres,  
Vol. 2.

The emulation excited in him by the great success of his friend, but rival, Hortensius, was of infinite service to him. I have spoken of it elsewhere with sufficient extent. He seems from thenceforth to

\* *Quantis illa clamoribus adolescentuli diximus de supplicio parricidarum! quæ nequaquam satis deferbuisse post aliquando sentire cœpimus. Sunt enim omnia sicut adolescentis, non tam re & maturitate quam spe & expectatione laudati.*

† *Molo dedit operam, si modò id consequi potuit, ut nimis redundantes nos & superfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate reprimeret, & quasi extra ripas diffuentes coerceret. Ita recepi me, biennio post, non modò exercitator, sed propè mutatus.*

have



have formed the design of carrying from Greece, or at least of disputing with her, the glory of eloquence. He exerted himself in every branch of it courageously, without neglecting one. The simple, the florid, and the sublime styles became equally familiar to him; and he has given us the most finished models in those three species of eloquence. He mentions several \* places in his treatise *De Oratore*, where he had employed those different kinds of style; and ingenuously confesses, that, if he has not attained perfection in them, he has at least attempted and shadowed it. Nobody knew the heart of man better than him, nor succeeded better in moving the springs of it, † whether he insinuates into his hearer's favour by the soft and tender passions, or uses those which require bold figures, vehemence, and all that eloquence has of strongest and most affecting. To be convinced of this, the reader has only to consult his perorations. When ‡ pleadings were divided, this last part was always left to him, in which he never failed to succeed in a peculiar manner; not, says he, that he had more wit than others, but because he was more moved and affected himself, without which his discourse would not have been capable of moving and affecting the judges.

It was this admirable || union and application of all the different qualities of the orator that occa-

\* Nulla est ullo in genere laus oratoris, cujus in nostris orationibus non sit aliqua, si non perfectio, at conatus tamen atque adumbratio. Non assequimur, at, quid deceat, videmus. *Orat. n. 103.*

† Hujus eloquentiæ est tractare animos, hujus omni modo permoveere. Hæc modò perfringit, modò irrepit in sensus: inserit novas opiniones, evellit infestas. *Orat. n. 97.*

‡ Si plures dicebamus, perorationem mihi tamen omnes relinquebant: in quo ut viderer excellere, non ingenio sed dolore assequabar—nec unquam is qui audiret incenderetur, nisi ardens ad eum perveniret oratio. *Orat. n. 130, 132.*

|| Jejunas hujus multiplicis & equabiliter in omnia genera fuscæ orationis aures civitatis accepimus, easque nos primi, quicumque eramus, & quantulumcumque dicebamus, ad hujus generis dicendi, audiendi, incredibilia studia convertimus. *Orat. n. 106.*

Propter exquisitius & minimè vulgare orationis genus, animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate converteram. *Brut. n. 321.*

tioned

sioned the rapid success of Cicero's pleadings. He owns himself, that Rome had never seen or heard any thing of the like nature before; and that this new species of eloquence charmed the hearers, and carried off all suffrages. That of the antients, as I have observed before, had abundance of solidity, but was entirely void of grace and ornament. \* Rome, which to their time had neither literature nor delicacy of ear, suffered, and even went so far as to admire, them. Hortensius had begun to throw graces into discourse. But, besides his negligence in that respect at length, from his being contented with and secure, as he thought, of, his reputation, the ornaments he used consisted rather in words and turns of phrase than thoughts, and had more elegance than real beauty.

Cicero industriously gave eloquence all the grace of which it was susceptible, but without lessening the solidity and gravity of discourse. He departed a little in this from the method of Demosthenes who, solely attentive to things in themselves, and not in the least to his own reputation, goes on directly to the end in view, and neglects every thing merely ornamental. † Our orator thought himself obliged to comply in some measure with the taste of his times, and the delicacy of the Romans, which required a more pleasing and florid style. He never lost sight of the public utility, but was studious at the same time of pleasing the judges; and in this he said he served his country more effectually: for his discourse, in being agreeable, was necessarily the

\* Erant, nondum tritis hominum auribus & erudita civitate, tolerabiles. *Brut.* n. 124.

† Ne illis quidem nimium repugno, qui dandum putant nonnihil esse temporibus atque auribus, nitidius aliquid atque affectatius postulantis. — Atque id fecisse M. Tullium video, ut cum omnia utilitati, tum partem quandam delectationi daret: cum & ipsam rem agere diceret (agebat autem maxime) litigatoris. Nam hoc ipse proderat, quod placebat. *Quintil.* l. 12. c. 10.

more persuasive. \* This beauty, this charm of style, diffused throughout the orations of Cicero, made him seem to obtain that by gentle means, which he actually seized by force; whilst the judges, who conceived they did no more than follow him of their own accord, were borne away by *bright illusion* and imperious vehemence.

He also enriched the Roman eloquence with another advantage, which highly exalted its value: I mean the disposition of words, which conduces infinitely to the beauty of discourse. † For the most agreeable and most solid thoughts, if the terms in which they are expressed want arrangement and numerosity, offend the ear, of which the sense is exceedingly delicate. The ‡ Greeks had been almost four hundred years in possession of this kind of beauty in the admirable works of their writers, who had carried the sweetness and harmony of disposition to its highest perfection. I have observed in the beginning of this volume, in what manner Cicero acquired the Roman language this improvement.

As much must be said of all the other parts of eloquence, || of which he either gave the Romans the first knowledge, or at least carried them to their highest perfection: and in this Cæsar had reason to say, that Cicero had rendered his country great service. For by his means Rome, which gave place to Greece only in this kind of glory, deprived her

\* Cui tanta unquam jucunditas affuit? Ut ipsa illa quæ extorquet, impetrare eum credas; & cum transversum vi sua Judicem ferat, amen ille non rapi videatur, sed sequi. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

† Quamvis graves suavesque sententiæ, tamen si incendiis verbis effertur, offendunt aures, quarum est judicium superbissimum. *Orat.* n. 150.

‡ Et apud Græcos quidem jam anni prope quadringenti, cum hoc numerus) probatur: nos nuper agnovimus. *Orat.* n. 171.

|| Cæsar Tullium, non solum principem atque inventorem copie lixit, quæ erat magna laus; sed etiam bene meritum de populi Romani nomine & dignitate. Quo enim uno vincebatur à vieta Græcia, id aut ereptum illis est, aut certè nobis cum illis communicatum. *Brut.* n. 254.



of it, or, perhaps, rose to the point of dividing it with her.

Cicero in consequence may truly be said to be, in respect to Rome, what Demosthenes had before been to Athens : that is to say, that each on his side carried eloquence to the highest perfection it ever attained.

#### S E C T. IV.

##### *Fourth age of the Roman orators.*

**I**T is the usual lot of human things, when they have attained their highest perfection, to decline soon, and to degenerate ever after. Eloquence, as well as history and poetry, experienced this sad fatality at Rome. Some few years after the death of Augustus, that region, so fertile of fine works and noble productions, \* bore no more of those excellent fruits, which had done it so much honour ; and as if it had been universally blasted, that bloom of Roman urbanity, that is to say, the extreme delicacy of taste, which prevailed in all works of wit and learning, withered and disappeared almost on a sudden.

A man highly estimable in other respects for his fine genius, rare talents, and learned works, occasioned this change in eloquence : it is easy to perceive that I mean SENECA. A too great esteem for himself, a kind of jealousy for the great men who had appeared before him, a violent desire of distinguishing himself, and to use the expression, of forming a sect, and being the leader for others to follow, made him quit the usual track, and throw himself into paths that were new and unknown to the antients.

The best things are abused, and even virtue themselves become vices when excessive and carried

\* Omnis foetus repressus, exustusque flos siti veteris ubertatis exaruit. *Brut.* n. 16.

too far. The graces with which Cicero had embellished and enriched the Roman eloquence, were dispensed soberly and with great judgment: but Seneca lavished them without discretion or measure. In the writings of the first, the ornaments were grave, manly, majestic, and proper for exalting the dignity of a queen: in those of the second, one might almost term them the finery of a Courtezan, which, far from adding new lustre to the natural beauty of eloquence, by the profusion of pearls and gems, disguised and made it disappear. For the foil of Seneca is admirable. No antient author has either so many, so fine, or so solid thoughts as him. But he spoils them by the turn he gives them, by the antitheses and quibbles with which they are usually adorned, by an excessive affectation of ending almost every period with an epigrammatic point, or a kind of glittering thought, a conceit very like it. This made Quintilian say it were to be wished, Lib. I. c. 14 that Seneca in composing had used his own genius, but another's judgment. *Velles eum suo ingenio dixisse, alieno judicio.* What I have observed of him Belles Lettres, Vol. 11. elsewhere, with great extent, dispenses with my saying any more of him in this place.

### PLINY the Younger.

The AUTHOR, of whom I am going to speak, is one of those persons of antiquity that best deserve to be known. I shall first trace a plan of his life from his own letters, in which we shall find all the qualities of the man of honour and probity, with the most amiable goodness of heart and generosity it is possible to imagine. I shall then proceed to give some idea of his stile by extracts from his panegyric upon Trajan, which is the only piece of his eloquence come down to us.

*Abridgement*

*Abridgement of the life of Pliny the younger.*

**A. D. 61.** PLINY the younger was born at Coma, a city of Italy. His mother was Pliny the Naturalist's sister, who adopted him for his son.

**Epist. 1. 1. 2.** Having lost his father very early, Virginus Rufus, one of the greatest persons of his age, was his guardian, who always considered him as his own son, and took particular care of him, Virginus, whose virtues had rendered him suspected, and ever odious to the emperors, had however the good fortune to escape their jealousy and hatred. He lived to the age of fourscore and three, always happy and admired. The emperor Trajan caused his obsequies to be solemnised with great magnificence and Tacitus the historian, who was then consul pronounced his funeral oration.

Pliny was no less happy in masters, than he had been in a guardian. We have seen elsewhere, that he studied rhetoric under Quintilian, and that, of all his disciples, he was the person who did him most honour, and also expressed most gratitude for him. The whole sequel of his life will shew the taste he had acquired for polite learning of every kind in the school of that celebrated rhetorician.

**Epist. 4. 1. 7.** At the age of fourteen he composed a Greek tragedy. He exercised himself afterwards in every species of poetry, which he made his amusement.

**Ep. 6. 1. 6.** He believed it necessary to hear also Nicetas of Smyrna, a celebrated Greek rhetorician, who was then at Rome.

**Ep. 14. 1. 1.** I include Rusticus Arulenus in the number of his masters, who had been tribune of the people in 69, and who professed Stoic philosophy. His modesty and virtue were crimes under an emperor, who

**Domitian.** was the declared enemy of both, and occasioned the loss of his life. He had taken particular care



to form Pliny for virtue, who always retained the highest gratitude for his memory,

Pliny was sent into Syria, where he served for Ep. 10.1.1. some years at the head of a legion. All the leisure his duty afforded him there he devoted to the lectures and conversations of Euphrates, a famous philosopher, who believed then that he saw in Pliny all that he afterwards proved. He gives us a fine picture of that philosopher. His \* air, says he, is serious, without sourness or ill nature. His presence inspires respect, but neither fear nor awe. His extreme politeness is equalled only by the purity of his manners. He makes war upon vices, not persons; and reforms such as err, but without insulting them.

On his return to Rome, he attached himself more closely than ever to Pliny the Naturalist, who had adopted him, and in whom he had the good fortune to find a father, master, model, and excellent guide. He collected his slightest discourses, and studied all his actions.

His uncle, then fifty-six years old, was obliged to repair to the coast of Naples, in order to take upon him the command of the Roman fleet at Misenum. Pliny the younger attended him thither, where he lost him by the unhappy accident I have related elsewhere.

Destitute of that support, he sought no other than his own merit, and applied himself wholly to public affairs. He pleaded his first cause at nine- Ep. 8.1.5. teen years of age. Young as he was, he spoke be- Ep. 18.1.1. fore the Centumviri in an affair, wherein he was under the necessity of contending with all the persons of the highest credit in Rome, without excepting those whom the prince honoured with his favour. † It was this action that first made him

\* Nullus horror in vultu, nulla tristitia, multum severitatis. Reverearis occursum, non reformides. Vitæ sanctitas summa, comitas par. Infectatur vitia, non homines: nec castigat errantes, sed emendat.

† Illa actio mihi aures hominum, illa januam famæ patefecit.

known, and opened the way for the reputation he afterwards acquired. He retained from thenceforth an approbation as universal as extraordinary in a city where neither competitors nor envy were idle.

Ep. 16. l. 4. He had more than once the satisfaction of seeing the entrance of the bar entirely shut up by the multitude of hearers, who waited when he was to plead. He was obliged to go to his place through the tribunal where the judges sat; and sometimes spoke seven hours, when himself was the only person tired in the assembly.

Ep. 14. l. 5. He never pleaded but for the public interests, his friends, or those whose ill fortune had left them none. Most of the other advocates sold their assistance, and to glory, of old the sole reward of so noble an employment, had substituted a sordid traffic of gain. Trajan, to reform that disorder, published a\* decree, which at the same time it gave Pliny great pleasure, did him no less honour. “How pleased I am, said he, not only never to  
“have entered into any agreement about the causes  
“in which I have been concerned, but to have al-  
“ways refused all kinds of presents, and even new-  
“years gifts, upon account of them! † It is true,  
“indeed, that every thing repugnant to honour is  
“to be avoided, not as prohibited, but as infam-  
“ous. There is however great satisfaction in  
“seeing that prohibited, which one never allowed  
“one’s self to do.”

Ep. 23. l. 6. He made it a pleasure, and even a duty, to assist with his advice, and to produce young persons of family and hopes at the bar. He would not under-

\* It was ordained by this decree, that all persons who had causes should make oath that they had neither given nor promised, nor caused to be given or promised, any thing to the advocate concerned for them. After the suit was determined, it admitted giving to the amount of ten thousand sesterces (about 60l. sterling. Ep. 21. l. 5.

† Oportet quidem quæ sunt inhonesta, non quasi illicita, sed quasi pudenda, vitare. Jucundum tamen, si prohiberi publicè videas, quod nunquam tibi ipse permiseris.

take some causes, but upon condition of having a young advocate joined with him in them. \*It was Ep. II. 1. 6. the highest joy to him, to see them begin to distinguish themselves in pleading, by treading in his steps, and following his counsels. From how good an heart, from what a fund of love for the public, do such sentiments flow!

It was by these steps that Pliny soon rose to the highest dignities of the state. He always retained the virtues in them by which they were acquired. In the time of Domitian he was prætor.

That savage prince, who looked upon innocence of manners as a censure of his own conduct, banished all the philosophers from Rome and Italy. Artemidorus, one of Pliny's friends, was of this Ep. II. 1. 3. number, and had withdrawn to an house that he had without the gates of the city. "I went thither to see him, says Pliny, at a time when my visit was most remarkable and most dangerous. I was prætor. He could not discharge the debts he had contracted for many noble uses without a great sum of money. Some of the richest and most powerful of his friends would not see the difficulty he was under. As to me, I borrowed the sum, and made him a present of it. I had however great reason to tremble for myself. Seven of my friends had just before either been banished or put to death. Of the latter were Senecio, Rusticus and Helvidius: the exiles were Mauricus, Gratilla, Arria, and Fannia. † The thunder which fell so often, and still smoked around me, seemed evidently to presage the like fate for myself. But I am far from believing that I deserve on this account all the glory Artemidorus

\* O diem lætum, notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo! Quid enim aut publicè lætius, quam clarissimos juvenes nomen & famam ex studiis petere; aut mihi optatius, quam me ad recta tendentibus quasi exemplar esse propositum?

† Tot circa me jactis fulminibus quasi ambrustus, mihi quoque impendere idem exitium certis quibusdam notis augurarer.



“ gives me: I only avoid infamy.” Where shall we find now such friends and such sentiments ?

I admire Pliny’s good fortune, worthy man as he was, in escaping the cruelty of Domitian. I could wish that he owed this obligation to his master and friend Quintilian, who had undoubtedly great credit with the emperor, especially after he had charged him with the education of his sister’s grandsons. History says nothing upon this head : it only informs us, that an accusation fully prepared against Pliny was found amongst Domitian’s papers.

Ep. 5. l. 1.  
A. D. 96.

The bloody death of that emperor, who was succeeded by Nerva, restored tranquillity to persons of worth, and made the bad tremble in their turn. A famous informer, named Regulus, not satisfied with having fomented the prosecution of Rusticus Arulenus, had besides triumphed over his death, by insulting his memory with writings full of injurious reproaches and insolent ridicule. Never was man so abject, cowardly, and creeping, as this wretch appeared after Domitian’s death ; which is always the case with such venal prostitutes to iniquity, that have no sense of honour. He was afraid of Pliny’s resentment, the declared friend of Rusticus in all times. Besides which he had attacked him personally in Domitian’s life ; and in public pleading at the bar, had laid a murderous snare for him by an insidious question, in respect to a person of worth, whom the emperor had banished, which exposed Pliny to certain danger, had he openly declared the truth ; or would have dishonoured him for ever, had he betrayed it. This base wretch left nothing undone to avert Pliny’s just revenge, employed the recommendation of his best friends, and came to him at last in person, to implore him, with the most abject and abandoned submissions, to forget the past. Pliny did not think fit to explain himself, being willing, before he determined in the affair, to wait the arrival of Ma-  
ricus.

ricus, the brother of Rusticus; who was not yet returned from banishment. It is not known how this business ended.

Another of the same kind did him abundance of Ep. 13. l. 9. honour. As soon as Domitian was killed, Pliny, upon mature deliberation, judged the present a very happy occasion for prosecuting the vile, avenging oppressed innocence, and acquiring great glory. He had contracted a particular friendship with Helvidius Priscus, the most virtuous and most revered person of his time, as also with Arria and Fannia, of whom the first was the wife of Pætus Thrasea and Fannia's mother; and the latter the wife of Priscus. The senator Publicius Certus, a man of great power and credit, designed for consul the ensuing year, had urged the death of Helvidius, who was also a senator of consular dignity, even in the senate. Pliny undertook to avenge his illustrious friend. Arria and Fannia, who were returned from banishment, joined him in so generous a design. He had never done any thing without the advice Ep. 17. l. 4. of Corellius, whom he considered as the wisest and most able person of the age. But, upon this occasion, knowing him to be a man of too timorous and circumspect a prudence, and, at the same time, that \*in resolutions wisely taken it is not proper to consult persons, whose counsels are a kind of orders to the asker, he did not impart his design to him, and contented himself with communicating it upon the very day it was to be put in execution, but without asking his opinion.

The senate being assembled, Pliny repaired thither, and demanded permission to speak. He began with great applause, but, as soon as he had opened the plan of the accusation, and had sufficiently designed the criminal, without naming him however hitherto, the senate rose up against him

\* Expertus usu, de eo quod destinaveris non esse consulendos, quibus consultis obsequi debeas.

on all sides. He heard all their outcries without trouble or emotion, whilst one of his friends of consular dignity intimated to him softly, but in very lively terms, that he had exposed himself with too much courage, and too little prudence, and pressed him earnestly to desist from his accusation; adding at the same time, that he would render himself formidable to succeeding emperors. *So much the better,* replied Pliny, *if they are bad ones.*

They at length proceeded to give their opinions, and the first who spoke, which were the most considerable of the senate, apologised for Certus, as if Pliny had actually named him, though he had not yet done so. Almost all the rest declared in his favour.

When it came to Pliny's turn to speak, he treated the subject in all its extent, and replied to every thing that had been advanced. It is not conceivable with what attention and applause, even those who a little before had opposed him, received all he said, so sudden was the change produced either by the importance of the cause, the force of the reasons, or the courage of the accuser.

The emperor did not judge it proper that the proceedings should go on. Pliny however carried what he proposed. Certus's colleague obtained the consulship, as had been before intended: but as for himself, another was nominated in his stead.

What an honour was this for Pliny! A single man, by the idea conceived of his zeal for the public good, brings over all the suffrages to his own side, supports the dignity of his order, and restores courage to so august an assembly as the Roman senate, at a time when the terror of the preceding reign still rendered it timorous and almost speechless.

I shall repeat two other occasions also, in which, not as a senator, but an advocate, he displayed both the force of his eloquence, and his just indignation against the oppressors of the people in the provinces.

They



They are both of the same time, but the year is not precisely known.

In the first, "We see an event famous from the rank of the person, salutary by the severity of the example, and memorable for ever from its importance." I shall use Pliny's own words, but I shall abridge his account considerably: Ep. II. 12.

"Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa, accused by the Africans, without proposing any defence, confines himself to demanding the ordinary judges. Tacitus and myself (says Pliny) being charged by order of the senate with the cause of that people, believed it our duty to remonstrate, that the crimes in question were too enormous to admit a civil trial. For Priscus was accused of no less than selling condemnation, and even the lives of innocent persons.—Vitellius Honoratus and Flavius Martianus were cited as his accomplices and appeared. The first was accused of having purchased the banishment of a Roman knight, and the deaths of seven of his friends, for three hundred thousand sesterces. The second had given seven hundred thousand, to have various torments inflicted upon another Roman knight. This latter had been first condemned to be whipped, then sent to the mines, and at last strangled in prison. But a fortunate death saved Honoratus from the justice of the senate. Martianus therefore was committed without Priscus. Upon some debates which arose upon this affair, it was referred to the first assembly of the senate.

"This assembly was most august. The prince presided in it, being then consul. It was about the beginning of January, when the senate is generally most numerous. Besides the importance of the cause, the noise it had made, and the natural curiosity of all men to be eye-witnesses of great and extraordinary events, had

“ drawn together from all parts a great multitude  
 “ of auditors. You may imagine the trouble and  
 “ apprehension we were under, who were to speak  
 “ in such an assembly, and in the presence of the  
 “ emperor. I have spoken more than once in the  
 “ senate, and may venture to say, that I never was  
 “ so favourably heard any where: notwithstanding  
 “ which every thing daunted me, as if entirely new  
 “ to me.

“ The difficulty of the cause embarrassed me al-  
 “ most as much as the rest. I considered, in the  
 “ person of Priscus, a man, who, a little before,  
 “ was of consular dignity, was honoured with an  
 “ important priesthood, of both which titles he was  
 “ then divested. I was sincerely concerned at be-  
 “ ing to accuse an unfortunate person already con-  
 “ demned. If the enormity of his crime urged  
 “ strongly against him, pity, which usually suc-  
 “ ceeds a first condemnation, pleaded no less in  
 “ his favour. At length I took courage, began  
 “ my discourse, and received as many applauses as  
 “ I had fears before. I spoke almost five hours:  
 “ for \* I was granted an hour and a half more  
 “ than was at first allowed me. All that seemed  
 “ difficult and averse, when I had it to say, became  
 “ easy and favourable when I said it. The empe-  
 “ ror’s goodness and care, I dare not call it anxiety,  
 “ for me, went so far, that he ordered me several  
 “ times to be admonished by a freedman, who  
 “ stood behind me, to spare myself, and not to  
 “ forget the weakness of my constitution.

“ Claudius Marcellinus defended Martianus.  
 “ The senate adjourned to the next day; for there  
 “ was not sufficient time for going through a new  
 “ pleading before night.

\* Nam decem clepsydris, quas spatioſissimas acceperam, sunt ad-  
 ditæ quatuor.

“ On the morrow Salvius Liberalis spoke for  
 “ Priscus. \* He is a subtle orator, disposes his  
 “ subject with method, has abundance of vehe-  
 “ mence, and is truly eloquent. All these talents  
 “ he displayed this day. † Tacitus replied with  
 “ abundance of eloquence, in which the great and  
 “ the subline of his character distinguished itself  
 “ not a little. Catus Fronto rejoined very finely  
 “ for Priscus; and, as he spoke last, and there was  
 “ but little time remaining, he endeavoured more  
 “ to move the judges, than to justify the accused.  
 “ Night came on, and the affair was referred to  
 “ the next day.

“ The question then was to examine the proofs,  
 “ and proceed to vote. It was certainly something  
 “ very noble, and highly worthy of antient Rome,  
 “ to see the senate assembled, and employed for  
 “ three days successively, without separating till  
 “ night. Cornutus Tertullus consul elect, a per-  
 “ son of extraordinary merit, and most zealous for  
 “ justice, was the first that gave his opinion. It  
 “ was to condemn Priscus to pay the seven hun-  
 “ dred thousand sesterces he had received into the  
 “ public treasury, and to banish him from Rome  
 “ and Italy. He went farther against Martianus,  
 “ and was for having him banished even from  
 “ Africa; and concluded with proposing to the  
 “ senate, to declare ‡ Tacitus and I had faithfully  
 “ and worthily answered their expectation in ac-  
 “ quitting ourselves of our commission. The con-  
 “ suls, and all the persons of consular dignity, who  
 “ spoke afterwards, were of the same opinion.  
 “ Some division ensued: but at last every body  
 “ came over to Cornutus.”

\* Vir subtilis, dispositus, acer, disertus.

† Respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissimè, & quod eximium orationi ejus in est, *σεμνῶς*.

‡ Ego & Tacitus. *The Latin is more simple and less ceremonious.*  
 I and Tacitus. *Perhaps the senate's vote named Pliny first.*



Pliny makes an end of his letter with a stroke of gaiety. "You are now, says he to his friend, fully informed of what passes here. Let me know in your turn what you do in the country. Send me an exact account of your trees, your vines, your corn, and your cattle; and assure yourself, that if I have not a very long letter from you, you shall have but very short ones from me for the future. Adieu."

Ep. 4. & 9.  
l. 3.

It appears that Pliny was in a manner the refuge and asylum of the oppressed provinces. The deputies from \* *Boetica* implored the senate to appoint Pliny to be their advocate in the suit they had commenced against *Cæcilius Classicus*, late governor of that province. Whatever other employments he might have, he could not refuse that people his assistance, for whom he had before pleaded upon a like occasion. † For, says Pliny, you cancel your first good offices, if you do not repeat them. Oblige an hundred times, and refuse once, men (for such is their nature) forget every thing but the refusal. Accordingly he undertook their cause.

Either a voluntary or natural death saved *Classicus* from the consequences of this prosecution. *Boetica* however did not omit to demand that it should go on; for so the laws required; and accused at the same time the ministers and accomplices of his crimes, demanding justice against them. The first thing that Pliny believed it necessary to establish, was, that *Classicus* was guilty, which it was not difficult to prove. He had left amongst his papers an exact memorandum, in his own hand-writing, of the gains he had made by his several extortions. *Probus* and *Hispanus*, two of his accomplices, gave more trouble. Before he entered upon the

\* *Andalusia* is a great part of what the antients called *Bœtica*.

† *Est ita natura comparatum, ut antiquiora beneficia subvertas, nisi illa posterioribus cumules. Nam, quamlibet sæpe obligati, si quid unum neget, hoc solum meminerunt, quod negatum est.*

proof of their crimes, Pliny judged it necessary to shew, that the execution of a governor's orders in what was manifestly unjust, was criminal; without which it had been losing time to prove them Clasticus's instruments. For they did not deny the facts laid to their charge, but excused themselves by pleading that they were reduced to them by obedience to their superior, which, according to them, sufficed for their vindication. They pretended, that such obedience could not be made criminal in them, as they were natives of the province, and consequently accustomed to tremble at the least command of the governor. Their advocate, who was a person of great ability, confessed afterwards, that he never was so much perplexed and disconcerted, as when he saw the only arms in which he had placed his whole confidence, wrested out of his hands.

The event was as follows. The senate decreed, that the estate of Clasticus, before he took possession of his government, should be separated from what he had afterwards acquired. The first was adjudged to his daughter, and the rest to the people of Boetica. Hispanus and Probus were banished for five years; so black did that which at first seemed scarce criminal, appear after Pliny had spoke. The other accomplices were prosecuted with the same effect.

What constancy and courage had Pliny, and how much must he have abhorred injustice and oppression? What an happiness was it for the remote provinces, as Andalusia was, where the governors, like so many petty tyrants, making their will their law, plundered and oppressed the people with impunity, to have a zealous and intrepid defender, whom neither credit nor menaces were capable of swaying in the least! For these public robbers find protection, and are seldom made examples, which can alone put a stop to such pernicious abuses.

Pliny's

A.D. 99.  
In Panegy-  
ric. Traj.

Pliny's zeal was soon rewarded in a conspicuous manner. He was actually made præfect of the treasury, that is to say, high-treasurer, with Cornutus Tertullus; which office he held two years, when they were both nominated consuls to be substituted to the usual ones for the following year. Trajan spoke in the senate to have this honour conferred upon them, presided in the assembly of the people at their nomination, and proclaimed them consuls himself. He gave them great praises, and represented them as men who equalled the antient consuls of Rome, in their love of justice and the pub-

Ep. 13. l. 5. lic good. "It was then I perfectly knew, says  
" \* Pliny, speaking of his colleague, what kind of  
" man, and of what value, he was. I heard him  
" as a master, and respected him as a father, less  
" on account of his advanced age, than his pro-  
" found wisdom."

A.D. 100. Pliny, when consul, pronounced, in his own and his colleague's name, an oration to thank Trajan for having conferred that dignity upon them, and to make his panegyric according to the order he had received from the senate, and in the name of the whole empire. I shall have occasion in the sequel to speak of this panegyric.

A.D. 103. About the end of the year 103, Pliny was sent to govern Pontus and Bithynia in quality of pro-consul. His sole employment there was to establish good order in his government, to execute justice, to redress grievances, and soften subjection. He had no thoughts of attracting respect by the pomp of equipage, difficulty of access, haughtiness in hearing, and insolence in giving answers.

A noble simplicity, an always frank and easy reception, an affability that sweetened necessary refu-

\* Tunc ego qui vir & quantus esset, altissimè inspexi: quem sequer ut magistrum, ut parentem vereretur: quod non tam ætatis maturitate, quam vita, merebatur.

fals,



fals, with a moderation that never departed from itself, conciliated the affection of every body.

Trajan, otherwise the most humane and just of princes, had set on foot a violent persecution against the Christians. Pliny, from the necessity of his office, and in consequence of his blindness, had his share in it. But the natural sweetness of his disposition made him averse, at least in some measure, to inflict punishments upon persons guilty of no crime. In consequence finding himself perplexed in the execution of the emperor's orders, he wrote him a letter upon that head, and received an answer, which, of all the monuments of Paganism, are perhaps those that do most honour to the Christian religion. I shall insert both at length in this place.

*Pliny's letter to the emperor Trajan.*

“ It is a part of my religion, Cæsar, to explain Ep. 97.  
 “ all my scruples to you. For who can either de- l. 10.  
 “ termine or instruct me better? I never was pre-  
 “ sent at the proceedings against any Christian: so  
 “ that I neither know upon what the information  
 “ against them turns, nor how far their punishment  
 “ should extend. I am much at a loss about the  
 “ difference of age. Must young and old without  
 “ distinction suffer the same inflictions? Are not  
 “ those who repent to be pardoned, or is it to no  
 “ purpose to renounce Christianity, after having  
 “ once embraced it? Is it the name only that I am  
 “ to punish in them, or are there any crimes an-  
 “ nexed to that name? However this be, I have  
 “ made this my rule, in respect to the Christians  
 “ brought before me: Those who have owned  
 “ themselves such I have interrogated a second  
 “ and third time, and threatened them with punish-  
 “ ment. When they persisted, I ordered it accord-  
 “ ingly. For, of whatever nature their confession  
 “ was, I believed it indispensably necessary to punish  
 “ in them their disobedience and invincible obsti-  
 “ nacy.

nacy. There were others possessed with the same  
 phrensy, whom I have reserved in order to send  
 them to Rome, because they are Roman citizens.  
 Accusations of this kind becoming afterwards  
 more frequent even from being set on foot,  
 as is usual, various kinds of them offer. A memorial  
 has been put into my hands, wherein several persons  
 are accused of being Christians, who deny that they  
 either are or ever were so. They have in my presence,  
 and in the terms I prescribed, invoked the gods,  
 and offered incense and wine to your image, which I  
 caused expressly to be brought out with the statues  
 of our divinities. They have even uttered violent  
 imprecations against Christ. And this I am told,  
 is what none, who are truly Christians, can ever be  
 forced to do. I believed it therefore necessary to  
 acquit them. Others, who have been brought before  
 me by an informer, have at first confessed themselves  
 Christians, and immediately after denied it; declaring  
 that they had indeed been so, but that they had ceased  
 to be so, some above three, and others a greater number  
 of years, and some for more than twenty. All these  
 people have adored your image, and the statues of the  
 gods; and all of them loaded Christ with curses. \* They  
 have affirmed to me, that their whole error and fault  
 consisted in these points: That on a day fixed, they  
 assembled before sun-rise, and sung alternately  
 hymns to Christ as to a god; that they engaged  
 themselves by oath, not to any crime, but not to rob or  
 commit adultery; to be faithful to their promise,

\* Affirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti statò die ante lucem convenire; carmenque Christo, quasi deo, dicere secum invicem; seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellari abnegarent: quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen & innoxium.

“ and not to secrete or deny deposits : That after  
 “ this it was their custom to separate, and then to  
 “ reassemble, in order to eat promiscuously some  
 “ simple and innocent food : That they had ceased  
 “ to do so since my edict, by which, according  
 “ to your orders, I had prohibited all assemblies  
 “ whatsoever. These depositions convinced me  
 “ more than ever, that it was necessary to extort  
 “ the truth by force of torments out of two virgin  
 “ slaves, who they said were priestesses of their  
 “ worship : but I discovered only a bad kind of  
 “ superstition, carried to excess ; and for that rea-  
 “ son have suspended every thing till I have your  
 “ farther orders. The affair seems worthy of your  
 “ reflection, from the multitude of those involved  
 “ in the danger. For great numbers of all ages,  
 “ sexes, and conditions, are liable to this accusa-  
 “ tion. This contagious evil has not only infected  
 “ the cities, but has reached the villages and coun-  
 “ try. I believe however that it may be remedied,  
 “ and that a stop may be put to it : and it is cer-  
 “ tain that the temples which were almost entirely  
 “ abandoned, are now frequented ; and that the  
 “ long neglected sacrifices are renewed. Victims  
 “ are sold every where, which before had few pur-  
 “ chasers. From whence may be judged what  
 “ numbers may be reclaimed, if pardon be granted  
 “ to repentance.”

*The emperor Trajan's answer to Pliny.*

“ You have, most dear Pliny, taken the me- Ep. 98.  
 “ thod you ought in proceeding against the Chri-  
 “ stians brought before you : for it is impossible  
 “ to establish a certain and general form in affairs  
 “ of such a nature. It is not necessary to make  
 “ strict inquiries after those people : but if they are  
 “ accused and convicted, they must be punished.  
 “ However, if the accused denies that he is a  
 “ Christian, and proves he is not by his behaviour,

“ I



“ I mean by invoking the gods, it is proper to  
 “ pardon him on his repentance, whatever causes  
 “ of suspicion may before have been laid to his  
 “ charge, \* FOR THE REST, ANONYMOUS INFOR-  
 “ MATIONS OUGHT NOT TO BE RECEIVED IN  
 “ ANY KIND OF CRIME: FOR THAT WERE OF  
 “ PERNICIOUS EXAMPLE, AND DOES NOT SUIT  
 “ THE TIMES IN WHICH WE LIVE.”

I leave it to the reader to make the reflections, these two letters naturally suggest, upon the magnificent praise they include of the purity of manners of the primitive Christians, the amazing progress Christianity had already made in so few years, even to occasion the temples to be abandoned; the incredible number of the faithful of all ages, sexes, and conditions; the authentic testimony rendered by a Pagan of the belief of the divinity of Jesus Christ generally established amongst those Faithful the remarkable contradiction of Trajan's opinion for if the Christians were criminal, it was just to make strict inquiry after them; and, if not, it was unjust to punish them though accused; and lastly upon the maxim taken from the law of nature, with which the emperor concludes his letter, in declaring, that he should deem it a dishonour to his age if, in any crime whatsoever, (the expression is general) regard were had to informations without the names of their authors.

On Pliny's return to Rome, he resumed business and his employments. His first wife being dead without children, he married a second named Calphurnia. As she was very young, and had abundance of wit, he found no difficulty in inspiring her with a taste for polite learning. It became his sole passion; but she reconciled it so well with her affection for her husband, that it could not be said whether she loved Pliny for polite learning, or polite

\* Sine auctore verò propositi libelli nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam & pessimi exempli, nec nostri seculi est.

learning for Pliny. When he was to plead some Ep. 19. l. 4  
important cause, she always had several persons  
waiting to bring her the first news of his success,  
and the emotion that expectation occasioned ceased  
only with their return. If he read any oration or  
other piece to an assembly of his friends, she never  
failed to contrive herself some place, from whence  
behind a curtain she might overhear the applauses  
given him. Her husband's works were continually  
in her hand, and, with no other art but love for  
her master, she composed airs upon the lyre to his  
verses.

His letters to her shew how far he carried his  
tenderness for a wife so worthy of his affection and  
esteem: "You tell me that my absence gives you Ep. 7. l. 6.  
"abundance of pain, and that your sole consola-  
"tion is reading my works, and often laying them  
"by you in my place. I am transported with joy  
"that you desire me so ardently, and at your manner  
"of consoling yourself. As for me, I read your let-  
"ters over and over, and am perpetually opening  
"them again, as if they were new ones. But they  
"only serve to aggravate the regret I feel in want-  
"ing you. For what felicity must one not find in  
"the conversation of her, whose letters have such  
"charms! Fail not however to write often to me,  
"though it gives me a kind of pleasure that tor-  
"ments me." In another letter he says: "I con- Ep. 4. l. 6.  
"jure you most earnestly to prevent my anxiety  
"by one and even two letters every day. I shall  
"at least feel hope whilst I read them, though I  
"fall into my first alarms afterwards." In a third,  
"To tell you to what a degree your absence affects Ep. 7. l. 7.  
"me would seem incredible. I pass the greatest  
"part of my nights in thinking of you. In the  
"day and at the hours I used to see you, my feet  
"in a manner carry me of themselves to your a-  
"partment; and, not finding you there, I return  
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“ with as much sadness and confusion, as if I had  
 “ been refused entrance.”

Ep. 10. 1. 8. After having received some hurt at her first time of being with child, she recovered, and lived a considerable time, but left him no issue.

Neither the time nor circumstances of Pliny's death are known.

I have not pretended hitherto to give an exact and continued account of Pliny's actions, but only an idea of his character by some events more remarkable than others, and consequently the most proper for making it known. I shall with the same view add some other facts, without confining myself to the order of time, and shall reduce them to four or five heads.

### I. *Pliny's application to study.*

It had been strange if Pliny, brought up in the sight and under the care of his uncle Pliny the Naturalist, had wanted a taste for the sciences, and indeed had not devoted himself entirely to them. We may believe that in his first studies he followed the plan he laid down for a young man who had consulted him upon that subject. As this letter may be useful to youth, I shall insert part of it here:

Ep. 9. 1. 7. “ You ask me in what manner I would advise  
 “ you to study. One of the best methods, according to the opinion of many, is to translate Greek into Latin, or Latin into Greek. By that you will acquire justness and beauty of diction, happiness and grace of figures, and facility in expressing your sense; besides which, in that imitation of the most excellent authors, you will insensibly contract an habit of thinking and expressing yourself like them. A thousand things which escape a man that reads do not escape a translator. Translation enlarges the mind, and forms the taste.

“ You



“ You may also, after having read something  
 “ only for the sake of making it your subject, treat  
 “ it yourself, with the resolution not to be excelled  
 “ by your original. You may then compare your  
 “ work with your author’s, and carefully examine  
 “ what he has done better than you, and you bet-  
 “ ter than him. What a joy will it be to you  
 “ to perceive yours sometimes the best; and how  
 “ much will it redouble your emulation, should  
 “ you find yourself always the inferior!

“ I know your present study is the eloquence of  
 “ the bar: but, for the attainment of that, I would  
 “ not advise you to confine yourself entirely to that  
 “ contentious stile, that breathes nothing but war  
 “ and debate. As fields delight in change of seeds,  
 “ our minds also require to be exercised in diffe-  
 “ rent studies. I would therefore have you some-  
 “ times make a fine piece of history your employ-  
 “ ment, sometimes the composition of a letter,  
 “ and sometimes verses——It is in this manner  
 “ the greatest orators, and even the greatest men,  
 “ have exercised or unbended themselves: or ra-  
 “ ther have exercised and unbended both together.  
 “ It is amazing how much these little works awaken  
 “ and exhilarate the genius.

“ I have not said what it is necessary to read,  
 “ though the having mentioned what it is proper  
 “ to write sufficiently speaks that. Remember  
 “ only to make a good choice of the best authors  
 “ in every kind; for it has been well said\*, that it  
 “ is necessary to read much, but not many things.”

We have seen that Pliny, at the age of fourteen,  
 had wrote a Greek tragedy, and afterwards exer-  
 cised himself in the several species of poetry. He  
 was much delighted with reading Livy. † He ad- Ep. ii. 1. 6

\* Aiunt multum legendum esse, non multa.

† Sum ex iis qui miror antiquos; non tamen, ut quidam, tempo-  
 rum nostrorum ingenia despicio. Neque enim quasi laissa & efforta  
 natura, ut nihil jam laudabile pariat.

mired the antients without being of the number of those who despise the moderns. I cannot believe, says he, that nature is become so barren and exhausted as to produce nothing valuable in our days.

Ep. 6. 1. 9. He tells a friend in what manner he employs himself during the public diversions: “ I have  
 “ passed all these last days in composing and  
 “ writing with the greatest tranquillity imaginable.  
 “ You may ask how that is possible in the midst  
 “ of Rome? It was the time of the shews in the  
 “ Circus which give me no manner of pleasure. I  
 “ see nothing new or varied in them, and consequently nothing worth seeing more than once.  
 “ This redoubles my astonishment, that so many  
 “ thousand—and even grave persons—should  
 “ have a puerile passion for seeing horses run, and  
 “ men driving chariots so often. \* When I consider this insatiable desire to see these trifling common sights over and over again, I feel a secret  
 “ satisfaction in taking no pleasure in such things,  
 “ and am glad to employ a leisure in polite studies, which others throw away upon such frivolous amusements.”

Ep. 19. 1. 8. We see study was his whole joy and consolation. “ Literature, says he, is my diversion and comfort; and I know nothing so agreeable as it is  
 “ to me, and nothing so mortifying as not to be  
 “ softened by it. In my grief for my wife’s indisposition, the sickness of my family, and even the  
 “ deaths of some of them, † I find no remedy but  
 “ study. It indeed makes me more sensible of adversity, but renders me also more capable of  
 “ bearing it.”

\* Quos ego (quosdam graves homines) cum recordor in re inani, frigida, assidua, tam insatiabiliter desiderare, capio aliquam voluptatem, quod hac voluptate non capiar. Ac per hos dies libentissime otium meum in literis colloco, quos alii otiosissimis occupationibus perdunt.

† Ad unicum doloris levamentum studia confugio, quæ præstant ut adversa magis intelligam, sed patientius feram.

## II. *Pliny's esteem and attachment for persons of virtue and learning.*

All the great men of his age, all who were most distinguished by eminent virtues, were Pliny's friends: Virginius Rufus, who refused the empire; Corellius, who was considered as a perfect model of wisdom and probity; Helvidius, the admiration of his times; Rusticus Arulenus and Senecio, whom Domitian put to death; and Cornutus Tertullus, who was several times his colleague.

He thought it also highly for his honour to have contracted a particular amity with the persons who made the greatest figure then in polite learning, Tacitus, Suetonius, Martial, and Silius Italicus.

“ I have read your book, says he to Tacitus, Ep. 20. l. 7.  
 “ and have observed with all the exactness in my  
 “ power what I believe it necessary to alter and re-  
 “ trench: \* for I love no less to speak truth, than  
 “ you to hear it; besides which no people are  
 “ more docile to reproof, than those who deserve  
 “ most praise. I expect that you will send back  
 “ my book in your turn with your corrections.  
 “ † Agreeable, charming exchange! How much  
 “ am I delighted to think that, if posterity sets any  
 “ value upon us, it will publish to the end of time  
 “ with what freedom, simplicity, and friendship we  
 “ lived together. It will be something rare and  
 “ remarkable, that two men, almost of the same  
 “ age, of the same rank, and of some reputation  
 “ in the republic of letters, (for I am reduced to

\* Nam & ego verum dicere assuevi, & tu libentur audire. Neque enim ulli patientius reprehendentur, quam qui maxime laudari merentur.

† O jucundas, ô pulchras vices! Quam me delectat, quod, si qua posteris cura nostri, usquequaque narrabitur, qua concordia, fide, simplicitate vixerimus! Erit rarum & insigne, duos homines ætate, dignitate propemodum æquales, nonnullius in literis nominis, (cogor enim de te quoque parcius dicere, quia de me simul dico) alterum alterius studia fovisse.



“ speak modestly of you, when I join you with  
 “ myself) should have assisted each other’s studies  
 “ so faithfully. As for me, from my most early  
 “ youth, the reputation and glory you had ac-  
 “ quired made me desirous of imitating you, and  
 “ of treading, and of appearing to tread, in your  
 “ steps, not near you, but nearer than another.  
 “ It was not because Rome had not at that time  
 “ abundance of geniusses of the first rank : but, a-  
 “ mongst them all, the similitude of our inclina-  
 “ tions pointed out you, as the most proper, as  
 “ the most worthy of being imitated. This is what  
 “ highly augments my joy, as often as I hear it  
 “ said, that, when conversation turns upon polite  
 “ learning, we are named together.”

We may conceive how studious Pliny was to oblige the historian Suetonius, from what he writes of him to a friend. This letter, though short, is one of the most elegant of his come down to us :

Ep. 24. l. 1.

“ Suetonius \*, who lodges with me, is for buy-  
 “ ing a little spot of land, which one of your  
 “ friends is disposed to sell. Favour me so far, I  
 “ beg you, as not to let him give more for it than  
 “ it is worth ; which will make him like his pur-  
 “ chase. A bad bargain is always disagreeable ;  
 “ but most so, in seeming to reproach us with im-  
 “ prudence. This bit of land, if not too dear, has

\* Tranquillus, contubernalis meus, vult emere agellum, quem venditare amicus tuus dicitur. Rogo cures, quanti æquum est, emat : ita enim delectabit emisse, Nam mala emptio semper ingrata est, eo maxime quod exprobrare stultitiam domino videtur. In hoc autem agello (si modo arriserit pretium) Tranquilli mei stomachum multa sollicitant : vicinitas urbis, opportunitas viæ, mediocritas villæ, modus ruris, qui avocet magis quam distringat. Scholasticis porro studiosis, ut hic est, sufficit abunde tantum soli, ut relevare caput, reficere oculos, reptare per limitem, unamque semitam terere, omnesque viculas suas nosse, & numerare arbusculas possint. Hæc tibi exponit, quo magis scires, quantum ille esset mihi, quantum ego non debitorus, si prædiclam illud, quod commendatur his doctores, non indolenter emerit, ut penitentiae locum non relinquat. *Vide Mr. Rollin adds, that the French tongue cannot render the delicacy and elegance of the demonstratives and pronominals scattered in this little letter. Agellum Venditare. Reptare per limitem. Viculas. Arbusculas. Prædiclum.*

“ many

“ many temptations for my friend : its small distance from Rome, the goodness of the ways, the mediocrity of its buildings, with its appurtenances more fit to amuse than employ. For these men of learning, devoted like him to study, want only as much land as is necessary for unbending their minds and delighting their eyes in good air. A single alley to walk in, a back way into the fields, and as many vines and plants as they can be acquainted with without burthening their memories, abundantly suffice them. I tell you all this, that you may know the better how much he will be obliged to me, and I to you, if he can buy this little place, with these recommendations, without any reason to repent it.”

Martial, so well known from his epigrams, was Ep. 21. l. 3. also one of Pliny's friends, and the death of that poet gave him great concern. “ I am informed, said he, that Martial is dead, and am very sorry for it. \* He was an ingenious, subtle, sharp man, and had abundance both of salt and gall, with no less candor, in his writings. When he left Rome, I gave him something to help him on his journey ; which little assistance I owed him, as well on account of our friendship, as the verses he had made for me. † It was the antient custom to confer rewards, either of honour or profit, upon such as had wrote in praise of cities or certain individuals. But that custom, with many others no less noble and decent, is one of the last in modern practice. Ever since we have ceased to do what deserved praise, we have despised it as a thing of no value.” Pliny repeats the passage of those verses, in which the poet, addressing

\* *Erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer, & qui plurimum in scribendo & salis haberet & fellis, nec candoris minus.*

† *Fuit moris antiqui, eos qui vel singulorum laudes vel urbium scripserant, aut honoribus aut pecunia ornare : nostris vero temporibus, ut alia speciosa & egregia, ita hoc inprimis exolevit. Nam postquam desimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus.*

himself to his muse, bids her go to Pliny at his house upon the Esquiline hill, and approach him with respect :

Sed ne tempore non tuo disertam  
Pulses ebria januam, videto.  
Totos dat tetricæ dies Minervæ,  
Dum centum studet auribus virorum  
Hoc quod secula posterique possint  
Arpinis quoque comparare chartis.  
Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas :  
Hæc hora est tua, cum furit Lyæus,  
Cum regnat rosa, cum madent capilli.  
Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones.

Mr. Sacy has translated these verses into French thus :

*Prends garde, petite ivrognesse,  
De n'aller pas, à contretens,  
Troubler les emplois importants  
Ou du soir au matin l'occupe sa sagesse.  
Respecte les momens qu'il donne à des discours  
Qui font le charme de nos jours,  
Et que tout l'avenir, admirant notre Pline  
Osera comparer aux Oracles d'Arpine.  
Prends l'heure que les doux propos,  
Enfans des verres & des pots,  
Ouvrent tout l'esprit à la joie;  
Qu'il se détend, qu'il se déploie,  
Qu'on traite les sages de fots;  
Et qu'alors, en humeur de rire,  
Les plus Catons te puissent lire.*

The same verses are in English.

*Wanton muse, a while forbear,  
Of improper times beware;  
Knock not at his learned gate;  
All day long affairs of weight —  
A thousand bearers all day long  
To his charming accents throng :*

*Strains*



*Strains so sweetly wise, so rare,  
 Future ages shall compare  
 To those of \* Arpinas' son,  
 Tho' from Greece the palm he won.  
 Stir not there till ev'ning hours,  
 Till Bacchus reigns, and softer pow'rs;  
 When, crown'd with roses, sweet with oils,  
 Mirth laughs at care, and learned toils:  
 Then take thy time devoid of fear,  
 When Cato's self thy lays would hear.*

“ Do you not think, says Pliny in concluding his  
 “ letter, that the man who wrote of me, in these  
 “ terms, well deserved some tokens of my affection  
 “ at his departure, and of my grief at his death?”

He also very much lamented that of Silius Itali- Ep. 7. l. 3.  
 cus, on whose poetry he passes a judgment entirely  
 just. † *He wrote verses, says he, with more art than  
 genius.* An incurable abscess having given him a  
 disgust for life, he ended his days by a voluntary  
 abstinence from food.

### III. *Pliny's liberality.*

Pliny, in comparison with some of the rich per-  
 sons of Rome, had but a very moderate fortune, but  
 a soul truly great, and the most noble sentiments.  
 Of this his almost innumerable liberalities are an  
 undoubted proof. I shall relate only a part of them.

He had laid down principles to himself upon this Ep. 30. l. 9.  
 head which well deserve attention: “ In my ‡ opi-  
 “ nion, says he, a man truly liberal should give  
 “ to his country, his relations by blood or mar-  
 “ riage, and his friends, but his friends in necessity.”  
 This is the order in giving that equity prescribes,  
 and which he followed exactly.

We have already seen that he made a very ge-  
 neros present to Quintilian, his master, towards

\* Cicero. † Scribebat carmina majore cura quam ingenio.

‡ Volo eum, qui sit verè liberalis, tribuere patriæ, propinquis,  
 omnibus, amicis, sed amicis pauperibus.

the portion of his daughter on her marriage, and assisted Martial, when he retired from Rome. Of  
 Ep. 3. l. 6. those two friends, the latter was in necessity, and the other was not rich.

He had given his nurse a small estate in land, which, at the time he gave it her, was worth an hundred thousand sesterces, that is to say, about six hundred pounds. What great lords of modern date act in this manner? Pliny however calls this a little present: *Munusculum*. And, after bestowing this piece of land, we find him make his nurse's income from it his care. He writes to the person who had the care of it, to recommend the improvement of it to him. "For, adds he, she who received this  
 " little farm has not more interest in its produce,  
 " than I who gave it her."

Ep. 4. l. 2. Seeing Calvina, whom he had partly portioned out of his own fortune, upon the point of renouncing the inheritance of her father Calvinus's estate, through fear that it was not sufficient to discharge his debts to Pliny; he wrote to her not to affront her father's memory in that manner, and, to determine her, sent her a general acquittance.

Ep. 19. l. 1. Upon another occasion he gave Romanus three hundred thousand sesterces (almost nineteen hundred pounds) to purchase him the estate necessary to qualify him for being admitted into the order of Roman knights.

Ep. 14. l. 7. Corellia, the sister of Corellius Rufus, for whom Pliny had always an infinite respect during his life, bought lands of him at the price of seven hundred thousand sesterces. Upon better information she found those lands worth nine hundred thousand, and pressed him earnestly to take the overplus, but could not prevail upon him to do so. A fine contest this between justice and generosity, in which the buyer's delicacy and the seller's noble disinterestedness are equally admirable! Where shall we find such behaviour now?

Some

Some merchants had purchased his vintage at a very reasonable price, from the hopes of gaining considerably by it. They were disappointed; and he returned money to them all. The reason he gives for it is still more admirable than the thing itself: "I \* think it no less noble to do justice in one's own house, than from the tribunal; in small than great affairs; and in one's own, as well as in those of other people."

What he did for his country still exceeds every thing I have said hitherto. The inhabitants of Coma, not having any masters amongst them for the education of their children, were obliged to send them to other cities. Pliny, who had the heart both of a son and a father for his country, made the inhabitants sensible of the advantages that would attend the education of their youth at Coma itself: "Where †, says he to their parents, can they have a more agreeable residence than their country? where form their manners with more safety, than in the sight of their fathers and mothers? and where will their expences be less than at home? Is it not best for your children to receive their education in the same place where they had their birth, and to accustom themselves from their infancy to love to reside in their native country?" He offered to contribute one third towards a foundation for the subsistence of masters, and thought it necessary to leave the rest of the expence upon the parents, in order to render them the more attentive in chusing good teachers from the necessity of the contribution, and the interest they would have in seeing their expence well bestowed.

\* Mihi egregium inprimis videtur, ut foris ita domi, ut in magnis ita in parvis, ut in alienis ita in suis, agitare justitiam.

† Ubi aut jucundius morarentur, quam in patria; aut pudicius continerentur, quam sub oculis parentum; aut minore sumptu, quam domi?—Edoceantur hîc, qui hîc nascuntur, statimque ab infantia natale solum amare, frequentare consuecant,



Ep. 8. l. 1. He did not confine himself to this donation. For as he says elsewhere, \* liberality once on foot know not how or where to stop, and has still the more charms, the more we use it. He founded a library there, with annual pensions for a certain number of young persons of family, whose fortunes did not afford them the necessary supplies for study. He had accompanied the institution of this library with a discourse, which he pronounced in the presence only of the principal citizens. He afterwards deliberated whether he should publish it. "It † is hard," says he, to speak of one's own actions without giving reason to judge, that we do not speak of them merely because we did them, but did them for the sake of speaking of them. As for me, I do not forget that a great soul is far more affected with the secret reports of conscience, than the most advantageous ones of common fame. Our actions ought not to follow glory, but glory them: And, if through the caprice of fortune they do not find it, we ought not to believe, that what has deserved it loses any thing of its value."

Ep. 4. l. 2. It is not easy to comprehend how a private person was capable of so many liberalities. This he explains himself in a letter to a lady, to whom he had made a considerable remittance: "Do not fear, says he, that such a present will distress me: pray make yourself easy upon that head. My fortune indeed is not large. My rank requires expence, and my income, from the nature of my estate, is no less casual than moderate. But what I want, on that side, I find in frugality; the most

\* Nescit enim semel incitata liberalitas stare, cujus pulcritudinem usus ipse commendat. *Epist.* 12. l. 5.

† Meminimus, quanto majore animo honestatis fructus in conscientia, quam in fama, reponatur. Sequi enim gloria, non appeti debet: nec, si casu aliquo non sequatur, idcirco quod gloriam non meruit, minus pulcrum est. Ii vero qui benefacta sua verbis adornant, non ideo prædicare quia fecerint, sed ut prædicarent fecisse creduntur.

“ assured source of my liberality.” *Quod cessat ex reditu, frugalitate suppletur : ex qua, velut è fonte, liberalitas nostra decurrit.* What a lesson and at the same time what a reproach is this to those young noblemen, who with immense estates, do no good to any body, and often die much in debt ! They are lavish to prodigality upon luxury and pleasures, but close and cruel to insensibility to their friends and domestics. “ Ever \* remember, says Pliny, Ep. 6.1.2. “ speaking to a young man of distinction, that nothing is more to be avoided, than that monstrous mixture of avarice and prodigality, which prevails so much in our times ; and that, if one of those vices suffices to blast a person’s reputation, both of them must disgrace him infinitely more.”

#### IV. *Pliny’s innocent pleasures.*

Pliny’s disposition was not rigid and austere. On the contrary he was extremely facetious, and took pleasure in conversing gaily with his friends : *Aliquando rideo jocor, ludo : utque omnia innoxie remissionis genera complectar, homo sum.* Ep. 3.1.5.

He was very glad to see his friends at his table, and often gave and accepted entertainments, but such of which temperance, conversation, and reading made the principal part. “ I shall come † to supper with you, says he to a friend, upon condition however that we have nothing but what is plain and frugal, except only conversation in abundance after the manner of Socrates ; and not much neither even of that.” Ep. 12.1.3.

He reproaches another with not having kept his promise with him. “ On my word you shall hear of it. You put me to the expence of providing Ep. 15.1.1.

\* Memento nihil magis esse vitandum, quam istam luxurie & sordium novam societatem : quæ cum sint turpissima discreta ac separata, turpius junguntur.

† Veniam ad cœnam : sed jam nunc paciscor, sit expedita, sit parca, Socraticis tantum sermonibus abundet : in his quoque teneat modum.

“ a supper for you, and don't come to it. Justice  
 “ is to be had at Rome. You shall pay me to the  
 “ last farthing, which is more perhaps than you  
 “ imagine. I had got each of us a lettuce, three  
 “ snails, two eggs, a cake, with muscadell wine  
 “ and ice. Besides which we had Spanish Olives,  
 “ Gourds, Shalots, and a thousand other meats  
 “ to the full as delicious. But you were better  
 “ pleased, at I know not who's, with oysters, slow  
 “ belly stuffed, and scarce fish. I shall certainly  
 “ punish you for it.”

Ep. 6. l. 1. He describes one of his parties of hunting with all the wit and pleasantry imaginable: “ I know you  
 “ will laugh, and consent that you do laugh as much  
 “ as you please. That very Pliny, whom you know  
 “ has caught three wild boars, and very large ones  
 “ too. What himself, say you? Himself. Do not  
 “ not believe however, that they cost my indolence  
 “ much. I sat down near the nets: I had neither  
 “ spear nor dart by me, but I had my book and  
 “ a pen: I meditated, wrote, and, \* in case of my  
 “ going home with my hands empty, had provided  
 “ myself with the consolation of having my leave  
 “ full.”

Hence we see study was his darling passion. That taste followed him universally, at table, in hunting and wherever he went. He employed in it all the intervals of time, which were not passed in the service of the public: for † he had laid it down to himself as a law, always to give business the preference to pleasure, and the solid to the agreeable.

Ep. 8. l. 2. This made him desire leisure and retirement so ardently: “ Shall ‡ I never then”, cried he, when

\* Ut si manus vacus, plenas tamen ceras reportarem.

† Hunc ordinem secutus sum, ut necessitates voluptatibus, seriis jucundis anteferebam. Ep. 21 l. 8.

‡ Nunquam-ne hos arctissimos laqueos, si solvere negatur, abrumperem? Nunquam, puto. Nam veteribus negotiis nova accrescunt, nec tamen priora peraguntur: tot nexibus, tot quasi catenis majus in dies occupationum agmen extenditur.



pressed by a multiplicity of affairs, “ be able to break the shackles with which I am hampered, since I cannot unbind them? No, I dare not flatter myself with that. Every day some new care augments my old ones. One business is no sooner at an end than another rises up. The chains of my occupation are perpetually multiplying and growing more heavy.”

In writing to a friend, who employed his leisure like a wise man in a delightful retirement, he could not avoid envying him. “ It is thus, says he, that a person no less distinguished in the functions of the magistrate, than the command of armies, and who has devoted himself to the service of the commonwealth as long as honour required it, ought to pass his age. \* We owe our first and second stage of life to our country, but the last to ourselves. This the laws seem to advise us, in granting us our *quietus* at sixty. When shall I be at liberty to enjoy rest? At what age shall I be permitted to imitate so glorious a retirement, and when will it be possible for mine not to be called sloth, but honourable leisure?”

He never thought he lived or breathed, but when he could steal from the town to one of his country-houses, for he had several. His agreeable description of them sufficiently shews the pleasure he took in them. He speaks of his orchards, his kitchen and other gardens, his buildings, and especially of the places that were in a manner the work of his own hands, with that joy and satisfaction which every man feels who builds or plants in the country. He calls these places his delights, his loves, his real loves: *amores mei, re vera amores: ipse posui.* Ep. 17. 1. 2. and in another place: *præterea indulsi amori meo;* Ep. 6. 1. 5.

\* Nam & prima vitæ tempora & media patriæ, extrema nobis impartiri debemus, ut ipsæ leges monent, quæ majorem annis sexaginta otio reddunt.

*amo enim quæ maxima ex parte ipse inchoavi, aut inchoata percolui.* “Am I in the wrong, says he to  
 “one of his friends, for being so fond of this re-  
 “treat, for making it my joy, and for staying so  
 “long at it?” And in another letter: “Here are  
 “neither the offensive, nor the impertinent. All  
 “here is calm, all peace: and, as the goodness of  
 “the climate makes the sky more serene, and the  
 “air more pure, my body is in better health, and  
 “my mind more free and vigorous. The one  
 “exercise in hunting, and the other in study.”

*Pliny's ardor for reputation and glory.*

It is not to be doubted but that glory was the  
 soul of Pliny's virtues. His application, leisure  
 diversions, studies, all tended that way. \* It was  
 a maxim with him, that the only ambition, which  
 suited an honest man, was either to do things worthy  
 of being written, or to write things worthy of  
 being read. He did not deny, that the love of  
 glory was his darling passion: “Every † book  
 “judges differently of human happiness. For my  
 “part, I think no man so happy as he who en-  
 “joys a great and solid reputation; and who, as-  
 “sured of the voices of posterity, taste before  
 “hand all the glory it intends him. ‡ Nothing  
 “affects me so much, says he, as the desire of sur-  
 “viving long in the remembrance of mankind;  
 “disposition truly worthy of a man, and espe-  
 “cially of one, who, having nothing to reproach  
 “himself with, does not fear the judgment of po-  
 “sterity.” The celebrated Thrasea used to say

\* Equidem beatos puto, quibus deorum munere datum est  
 facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda. *Ep.* 16. l. 6.

† Alius alium, ego beatissimum existimo, qui bonæ mansuræque  
 famæ præsumptione perfruitur, certusque posteritatis cum futura  
 gloria vivit.

‡ Me nihil æquè ac diuturnitatis amor & cupido sollicitat:  
 homine dignissima, præsertim qui nullius sibi conscius culpæ, pos-  
 teritatis memoriam non reformidet.

that an orator ought to charge himself with three kinds of causes: those of his friends, those who want protection, and those of which the consequences may be of an exemplary nature——“\* I shall add to these three kinds (says Pliny again) perhaps as a man not without ambition, great and famous causes. For it is just to plead sometimes for reputation and glory, that is to say, to plead one's own cause.”

He passionately desired that Tacitus would write *Ep. 32. l. 7.* his history: but, less vain than Cicero, he did not ask him to embellish it with lies: *mendaciunculis aspergere*. “My † actions, says he to that historian, will in your hands become more great, remarkable, and shining. I do not however desire you to exaggerate them: for I know, that history ought never to depart from truth, and that truth does sufficient honour to good actions.” I do not know whether I had reason for saying, that Pliny was less vain than Cicero, and whether Cicero ought not to be deemed the more modest, because the more sincere. He knew what he wanted, and asked an officious supplement of that. But Pliny does not believe he has occasion either for favour or aid. He is more satisfied with his own merit. It is sufficiently great, solid, and noble, to support itself alone for the view of posterity. It has no occasion for any thing, besides an elevation of style, to convey the simple truth down to future ages without any foreign addition.

Pliny often assembled a number of his select friends, in order to read his compositions either in verse or prose to them. He declares in several letters, that he did this with the view of making use

\* Ad hæc ego genera causarum, ambitiosè fortasse, addam tamen claras & illustres. Æquum enim est agere nonnunquam gloriæ & famæ, i.e. est, suam causam.

† Hæc, utcumque se habent, notiora, clariora, majora tu facies: quanquam non exigo ut excedas actæ rei modum. Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, & honestè factis veritas sufficit.



- of their advice ; which might be : but the desire of being praised and admired had a great share in it, Ep. 10. 1. 2. for he was infinitely sensible in that point. “ I \* “ represent to myself already the crowd of hearers,” (he speaks to a friend whom he advises to read his works in the same manner) “ the transports of admiration, the applauses, and even that silence, “ which, whilst I speak in public, or read my compositions, is scarce less charming than the loudest “ applauses, when it proceeds solely from attention, “ and an impatient desire of hearing what remains.”
- Ep. 17. 1. 4. He was highly offended at the mute and supercilious behaviour of some hearers, when it concerned his friends. “ An excellent work was read in “ an assembly, to which I was invited. Two or “ three persons, who conceived themselves better “ judges than all the rest of us, heard it as if “ they had been deaf and dumb. They never “ opened their lips, made the least motion, or so “ much as rose up, unless it was when they were “ weary of sitting. † What contradiction, or “ rather what folly was this, to pass an whole day “ in mortifying a man, to whose house they came “ only to express friendship and esteem for him !”
- Ep. 1. 1. 5. He did noble actions ; but was well pleased that they should be known, and himself praised for them. “ ‡ I do not deny, says he, that I am “ not so wise, as to be indifferent to that kind of “ reward, which virtue finds in the testimony and “ approbation of many.”

\* Imaginor qui concursus, quæ admiratio te, qui clamor, quod etiam silentium maneat : quo ego, cum dico vel recito, non minus quam clamore delector, sit modò silentium acre, & intentum, & cupidum ulteriora audiendi.

† Quæ sinisteritas, ac potiùs amentia, in hoc totum diem impendere, ut offendas, ut inimicum relinquas, ad quem tanquam amicissimus veneris.

‡ Neque enim sum tam sapiens, ut nihil mea intersit, an iis quæ honestè fecisse me credo testificatio quædam & quali præmium accedat.

Pliny

Pliny is censured for speaking often of himself, but however he cannot be reproached with speaking only of himself. No man ever took more pleasure in extolling the merit of others; which he carried so far as to occasion his being accused of praising to excess, a fault against which he was very far either from defending himself, or being willing to correct. “ You tell me, that I am reproached by Ep. 28.1.7. some people with praising my friends to excess upon all occasions. I confess my crime, and glory in it. For can there be any thing more generous, than to err through such an indulgence of one’s self? And pray who are these people, who believe they know my friends better than I do? Granted they do, wherefore do they envy me so grateful an error? For suppose my friends are not what I say, I am always happy in believing they are. Let me therefore advise these censurers to apply their malignant delicacy to those who believe there is wit and judgment in criticising their friends: as for me, they shall never persuade me, that I love mine too well.”

Have I not expatiated too far upon Pliny’s private character, and will not the extracts I have made from his letters, appear to the reader too long and abundant? I am afraid they will, and confess my weakness. These characters of integrity, probity, generosity, love of public good, which to the misfortune of our age are become so rare, transport me out of myself, ravish my admiration, and make me incapable of abridging my descriptions of them. And indeed, I repeat it again, is there a more gentle, desirable, social, and amiable character, in every respect, than that of which I have been endeavouring so long to give some idea? How agreeable is the commerce of life with such friends; and how happy is it for the public, when such beneficent persons as Pliny, void of capricious humour, passion, and prejudice, fill the first offices of a state,

and make it their study to soften and remove the distresses of those with whom they have to do?

I was in the wrong for saying, that Pliny was void of passion. Exempt as he was from such as in the judgment of the world dishonour men, he had one, less gross and more delicate indeed, but not less warm and vicious in the sight of the Supreme Judge, whatsoever endeavours the general corruption of the human heart may make to ennoble it, by giving it almost the name of virtue: I mean that excessive love of glory, which was the soul of all his actions and undertakings. Pliny and all the rest of the illustrious writers of the Pagan world were solely engrossed by the desire and care of living in the remembrance of posterity, and of transmitting their names to future ages by writings, which they were in hopes would endure as long as the world, and obtain them a kind of immortality, with which they were blind enough to content themselves. Could any thing be more uncertain, precarious, and frivolous, than this hope? Could not time, which has abolished the greatest part of the works of these vain men, have also abolished the little that remains of them? To what are they indebted for the fragments of them that have escaped the general shipwreck? The little of theirs come down to us, does it prevent all that belongs to them, even their very names, from having perished totally throughout all Africa, Asia, and great part of Europe? Had it not been for the studies kept up by the Christian church, would not Barbarism have annihilated their works and names, throughout the universe? How vain, how trifling then is the felicity, upon which they relied, and to which they wholly devoted themselves! Have not those, who were the admiration of their own times, fallen into the abyss of death and oblivion, as well as the most ignorant and stupid? We, whom religion has better instructed, should be very blind and void of reason,



Reason, if, destined by the grace of our Saviour to a blessed immortality, we suffered ourselves to be dazzled by imaginary greatness, and the phantom of an eternity in idea.

The extracts I have made from his letters are more than sufficient to make the reader acquainted with his genius and manners : it remains for me to give an idea of his style by some extracts from his panegyric upon Trajan, which is an extremely elaborate piece of eloquence, and has always been considered as his master-piece.

*Panegyric upon Trajan.*

I have already observed, that Pliny, after his being appointed consul by Trajan, in conjunction with Cornutus Tertullus his intimate friend, received the senate's orders to make that prince's panegyric in the name of the whole Empire. He addresses his discourse always to the Emperor, as if present. If he were really so, for it is doubted, it must have cost his modesty a great deal : but, whatever repugnance he might have to hearing himself praised to his face, which is always very disagreeable, he did not think it proper to oppose the Decree of so venerable an assembly. It is easy to judge that Pliny, on that occasion, exerted all his faculties ; to which no doubt the warmth of his gratitude added new force. Some extracts, which I am going to make from that piece, will at the same time shew the eloquence of its author, and the admirable qualities of the prince it praises.

*General praise of Trajan.*

*Sæpe ego mecum, patres conscripti, tacitus agitavi, qualem quantumque esse oporteret cujus ditione nutuque maria, terræ, pax, bella regerentur : cum interea fingenti formantique mihi principem, quem æquata diis immortalibus potestas deceret, nunquam voto saltem concipere succurrit similem huic quem videmus. Enituit ali-*

*quis in bello, sed obsolevit in pace. Alium toga, sed non  
 & arma honestârunt. Reverentiam ille terrore, alius  
 amorem humanitate captavit. Ille quæstam domi glo-  
 riam, in publico; hic in publico partam, domi perdidit.  
 Postremò, adhuc nemo extitit, cujus virtutes nullo vitio-  
 rum confinio læderentur. At principi nostro quanta con-  
 cordia quantusque concentus omnium laudum omnisque  
 gloriæ contigit; ut nihil severitati ejus hilaritate, nihil  
 gravitati simplicitate, nihil majestati humanitate detra-  
 hatur! Jam firmitas, jam proceritas corporis, jam ho-  
 nor capitis, & dignitas oris, ad hoc ætatis inflexa  
 maturitas, nec sine quodam munere deûm festinatis senec-  
 tutis insignibus ad augendam majestatem ornata cæsaries,  
 nonne longè latèque principem ostendant?*

“ I have often endeavoured, fathers, to form to  
 “ myself an idea of the great qualities which a per-  
 “ son worthy of ruling the universe absolutely by  
 “ sea and land, in peace and war, ought to have;  
 “ and I confess, that when I have imagined, ac-  
 “ cording to my best discretion, a prince capable  
 “ of sustaining with honour a power comparable to  
 “ that of the gods, my utmost wishes have never  
 “ rose so high, as even to conceive one like him  
 “ we now see. Some have acquired glory in war,  
 “ but lost it in peace. \* The gown has given others  
 “ fame, but the sword disgrace. Some have made  
 “ themselves respected by terror, and others belov-  
 “ ed by humanity. Some have known how to  
 “ conciliate esteem in their own houses, but not to  
 “ preserve it in public; and some to merit repu-  
 “ tation in public, which they have ill sustained at  
 “ home. In a word we have seen none hitherto,  
 “ whose virtues have not suffered some alloy from  
 “ the neighbouring vices. But in our prince, what  
 “ an assemblage of all excellent qualities, what a  
 “ concurrence of every kind of glory, do we not  
 “ behold; his severity losing nothing by his cheer-

\* At Rome the princes exercised the functions both of magistrates  
 and generals,

“ fulness,

“fulness, his gravity by the simplicity of his man-  
 “ners, nor the majesty of his power and person by  
 “the humanity of his temper and actions! The  
 “strength and gracefulness of his body, the ele-  
 “gance of his features, the dignity of his aspect,  
 “the healthy vigour of his maturer years, his hoary  
 “hair, which the gods seem to have made white  
 “before the time only to render him the more ve-  
 “nerable; do they not all combine to point out,  
 “to speak, the sovereign of the world.”

*Trajan's conduct in the army.*

*Quid cū solatium fessis militibus, ægris opem ferres?  
 Non tibi moris tua inire tentoria, nisi commilitonum ante  
 lustrasses; nec requiem corpori, nisi post omnes, dare.  
 Hac mihi admiratione dignus imperator non videretur,  
 si inter Fabricios, & Scipiones, & Camillos talis esset.  
 Tunc enim illum imitationis ardor, semperque melior ali-  
 quis accenderet. Postquam vero studium armorum à ma-  
 nibus ad oculos, ad voluptatem à labore translatum est,  
 quam magnum est unum ex omnibus patrio more, patria  
 virtute lætari, & sine æmulo ac sine exemplo secum cer-  
 tare, secum contendere: ac, sicut imperat solus, solum  
 ita esse qui debeat imperare!*

“In your care of the tired and wounded sol-  
 “diers, in which none ever were more attentive,  
 “was it your custom to retire to your own tent,  
 “till after having visited all the rest, or to take  
 “repose, till you had first provided for that of  
 “the whole army? To find such a general a-  
 “mongst the Fabricii, the Scipios, the Camilli,  
 “would seem no great matter of admiration. In  
 “those days there was always some great example,  
 “some superior, to quicken such ardor, and to  
 “kindle in the soul a noble emulation. But now,  
 “when we love arms only in the shews of the  
 “Circus, and have transferred them from the  
 “hand to the eye, from fatigue and toil to pas-  
 “time and amusement, how glorious is it to be the  
 O 4 “only



“ only one in retaining the antient manners and  
 “ virtues of his country, and to have no other mo-  
 “ del to propose, no other rival to contend with,  
 “ but himself; and, as he reigns alone, to be the  
 “ only person worthy of reigning!”

*Veniet tempus quo posterì visere, visendum tradere  
 minoribus suis gessient, quis sudores tuos hauserit cam-  
 pus, quæ refectiões tuas arbores, quæ somnum saxa  
 prætexerint, quod denique tectum magnus hospes imple-  
 veris, ut tunc ipsi tibi ingentium ducum sacra vestigia  
 iisdem in locis monstrabantur.*

“ The time will come, when posterity will ea-  
 “ gerly visit themselves, and shew to their children,  
 “ the plains where you sustained such glorious la-  
 “ bours, the trees under which you refreshed your-  
 “ self with food, the rocks where you slept, and  
 “ the houses that were honoured with so great a  
 “ guest: in a word, they will trace your sacred  
 “ footsteps every-where, as you have done those  
 “ in the same places of the great captains you de-  
 “ light so much to contemplate.”

*Itaque perinde summis atque infimis carus, sic impe-  
 ratorem commilitonemque miscueras, ut studium omnium  
 laboremque & tanquam particeps sociusque elevares. Fe-  
 lices illos, quorum fides & industria, non per nuncios &  
 interpretes, sed ab ipso te, nec auribus tuis sed oculis  
 probantur. Consecuti sunt, ut absens quoque de absen-  
 tibus nemini magis, quam tibi, crederes.*

“ Dear as you were alike to great and small,  
 “ you mingled the soldier and general in such a  
 “ manner, that, at the same time your office ex-  
 “ acted their whole obedience and labours as their  
 “ leader, you softened their toils by sharing in  
 “ them as their companion. How happy are they  
 “ to serve you, who are not informed of their zeal  
 “ and capacity from the reports of others, but are  
 “ yourself the witness of them in your own person!  
 “ Hence to their good fortune, even when absent,  
 “ you

“ you rely on none more than yourself in what relates to them.”

*Trajan's return and entrance into Rome, after his being declared emperor.*

*Ac primum qui dies ille, quo expectatus desideratusque urbem tuam ingressus es!—Non ætas quemquam, non valetudo, non sexus retardavit quominus oculos insolito spectaculo expleret. Te parvuli noscere, ostentare juvenes, mirari senes, ægri quoque neglecto medentium imperio ad conspectum tui, tanquam ad salutem sanitatemque, prorrepere. Inde alii se satis vixisse te viso, te recepto; alii nunc magis vivendum prædicabant. Fæminas etiam tunc fecunditatis suæ maxima voluptas subiit, cum cernerent cui principi cives, cui imperatori milites peperissent. Videres referta tecta ac laborantia, ac ne eum quidem vacantem locum, qui non nisi suspensum & instabile vestigium caperet: Oppletas undique vias, angustumque tramitem relictum tibi: alacrem hinc atque inde populum: ubique par gaudium, paremque clamorem.*

“ What shall I say of that day, when your city, after having so long desired and expected you, beheld you enter it?—Neither age, sex, nor health could keep anybody from so unusual a sight. The children were eager to know you, the youth to point you out, the old to admire you, and even the sick, without regard to the orders of their physicians, crept out, as if for the recovery of their health, to feed their eyes on you. Some said, that they had lived long enough, as they had seen you; and others that they only now began to live. The women rejoiced that they had children, when they saw for what prince they had brought forth citizens, for what general soldiers. The roofs were all crowded and ready to break down under the numbers upon them; the very places where there was scarce room to stand, and not upright, were full. The throng was so vast in the streets, that it scarce  
“ left

“ you way to pass through it : whilst the joy and  
 “ acclamations of the people filled all places, and  
 “ resounded universally to the heavens.”

*The example of the prince how powerful.*

*Non censuram adhuc, non præfecturam morum recepisti; quia tibi beneficiis potius quam remediis ingenii nostra experiri placet. Et alioqui nescio an plus moribus conferat princeps, qui bonos esse patitur, quam qui cogit. Flexibiles quaecumque in partem ducimur à principe, atque ut ita dicam, sequaces sumus.—Vita principis censura est, eaque perpetua: ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc convertimur; nec tam imperio nobis opus est, quam exemplo. Quippe infidelis recti magister est metus. Melius homines exemplis docentur, quæ imprimis hoc in boni habent, quod approbant, quæ præcipiunt, fieri possunt.*

“ You have not yet thought fit to take the censorship upon you, nor to charge yourself with  
 “ inspecting into the manners of the people; because  
 “ cause you chuse rather to try our disposition by  
 “ kindness and indulgence, than bitter remedies.  
 “ And indeed, I do not know whether the prince  
 “ who honours the virtues of his people, does not  
 “ contribute more to them, than he who exacts  
 “ them with rigour.—The life of a prince is  
 “ continual censorship: it is to that we adapt our  
 “ selves, to that we turn as to our model; and  
 “ want less his commands than his example. For  
 “ fear is but a dubious, a treacherous teacher of  
 “ duty. Examples are of much greater efficacy  
 “ with men: for they not only direct to virtue, but  
 “ prove that it is not impossible to practise what  
 “ they admonish.”

*Virtue, not statues, do honour to princes.*

*Ibit in secula fuisse principem, cui florenti & incoluntur nunquam nisi modici honores, sæpius nulli decernerentur.—Ac mihi intuenti in sapientiam tuam, minus mirum videtur, quod mortales istos caducosque titulos aut deprecari*



*reces, aut temperes. Scis enim ubi vera principis, ubi sempiterna sit gloria; ubi sint honores, in quos nihil ammis, nihil senectuti, nihil successoribus liceat. Arcus enim, & statuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur & obscurat oblivio, negligit carpitque posteritas: contra, contemptor ambitionis & infinitæ potestatis domitor ac creator animus ipsa vetustate florescit, nec ab ullis minus laudatur, quam quibus minimè necesse est. Præterea, quisquis factus est princeps, extemplò fama ejus, in æternum bona an mala, cæterum æterna est. Non ergo perpetua principi fama, quæ invitum manet, sed bona incupiscenda est. Ea porro non imaginibus & statuis, sed virtute ac meritis propagatur.*

“ It will be told in all ages, that there was a prince to whom in the height of glory and good fortune only moderate honours, and more frequently none were decreed.—When I consider your profound wisdom, my wonder ceases, on seeing you either decline or moderate those fleeting vulgar titles. You know wherein the true, the immortal glory of a prince consists; you know wherein those honours have their being, which fear neither flames, time, nor the envy of successors. For neither triumphal arches, statues, altars, nor even temples escape oblivion, and the neglect or injuries of posterity. But he, whose exalted soul disdains ambition, and sets due bounds to universal power, shall flourish to the latest period of the world, revered and praised by none so much, as those who are most at liberty to dispense with that homage. The fame of a prince, from the moment he becomes so, whether good or bad, is necessarily eternal. He ought not therefore to desire an immortal name, which he must have whether he will or no, but a good one; and that, not statues and images, but merit and virtue perpetuate.”

*The prince's happiness inseparable from that of the people.*

*Fuit tempus, ac nimium diu fuit, quo alia adversa alia secunda principi & nobis. Nunc communia tibi nobiscum tam læta, quam tristia; nec magis sine te nunc esse felices, quam tu sine nobis potes. An, si posses, sine votorum adjecisses, UT ITA PRECIBUS TUIS DI ANNUERENT, SI JUDICIUM NOSTRUM MERER PERSEVERASSES?*

“ There was a time, and but of too long duration, when our misfortunes and prosperity and the prince's were the reverse of each other. But now our good and evil are one and the same with yours; and we can no more be happy without you, than you without us. Had it been otherwise, would you have added at the end of your public vows, *That you desired the gods would hear your prayers no longer, than you persisted to deserve our love?*”

It is remarkable that a condition was inserted to the order of Trajan himself in the vows made for him by the public: *SI BENE REMPUBLICAM EX UTILITATE OMNIUM REXERIS*: that is to say, *if you govern the commonwealth with justice, and make the good of all mankind the rule of your power.* “ In your vows, cries Pliny, worthy of being made, worthy of being eternally heard! The commonwealth has, by your guidance, entered into a contract with the gods, that they should be watchful for your preservation, as long as you are so for that of your country: and, if you add any thing to the contrary, that they should withdraw their regard and protection from you. *Digna vota, quæ semper suscipiantur, semperque solvantur. Egit cum diis, ipso te auctore, Respublica, ut sospitem incolumemque præstarent, si tu cæteros præstares: si contra, illi quæque à custodia tui corporis oculi dimoverent.*

*Admirab*

*Admirable union between the wife and sister of Trajan.*

*Nihil est tam primum ad similitudines quàm æmulatio, n sœminis præsertim. Ea porro maximè nascitur ex conjunctione, alitur æqualitate, exardescit invidia, cuius finis est odium. Quo quidem admirabilius existimandum est, quòd mulieribus duabus in una domo parique fortuna nullum certamen, nulla contentio est. Suspiciunt invicem, invicem cedunt: cùmque te utraque effusissimè diligat, nihil sua putant interesse utram tu magis ames. Idem utrique propositum, idem tenor vitæ, nihilque ex quo sentias duas esse.*

“ Nothing is more apt to produce enmity than emulation, especially amongst women. It generally is most frequent where it should least be found, I mean in families : equality nourishes it, envy inflames it, the end of which is implacable hatred. And this makes our wonder the greater, when we behold two ladies, equal in fortune, in the same palace, between whom there never happens the least difference. They seem to contend in paying respect and giving place to each other; and, though they both love you with the utmost tenderness, they do not think which of them you love best of any consequence. Their views, the tenor of their lives, are so much the same, that there is nothing in either from whence one can distinguish them to be two persons.”

*Trajan was sensible to the joys of friendship.*

*Jam etiam & in privatorum animis exoleverat primum mortalium bonum amicitia, cujus in locum migraverant assentationes, blanditiæ, & pejor odio amoris simulatio. Etenim in principum domo nomen tantum amicitia, inane scilicet irrisumque, manebat. Nam quæ poterat esse inter eos amicitia, quorum sibi alii domini, alii servi videbantur? Tu hanc pulsam & errantem reduxisti. Habes amicos, quia amicus ipse es. Neque enim, ut alia subiectis, ita amor imperatur: neque est ullus*



*ullus affectus tam erectus, & liber, & dominationis impatiens, nec qui magis vices exigat.*

“ Friendship, that inestimable good, in which  
 “ of old the happiness of mortals consisted, was  
 “ banished even from the commerce of private life  
 “ and flattery, compliment, and outward profession, the phantom of friendship, more dangerous  
 “ even than enmity, had assumed its place. If the  
 “ name of friendship was still known in the court  
 “ of the princes, it was only as the object of contempt and ridicule. For what friendship could  
 “ subsist between those, who considered each other  
 “ in the light of masters and slaves ? But you have  
 “ recalled the exile from wandering abroad : You  
 “ have friends, because you are yourself a friend  
 “ For the power of a prince, though he commands  
 “ without bounds in other things, does not extend  
 “ to love. Of all the affections of the soul, that  
 “ is the most free, unbiassed, and averse to constraint ; none of them exacting returns with  
 “ greater rigour.”

*Absolute power of the freedmen under the bad emperors*

*Plerique principes, cum essent civium domini, libertorum erant servi. Horum consiliis, horum nutu regebantur : per hos audiebant, per hos loquebantur : per hos Præturæ etiam, & Sacerdotia, & Consulatus, imò & ab his, petebantur. Tu libertis tuis summum quidem honorem, sed tanquam libertis, habes ; abundeque his sufficere credis, si probi & frugi existimentur. Scienim, præcipuum esse indicium non magni principis, magnos libertos.*

“ Most of our emperors whilst lords of the citizens, were slaves to their freedmen. They governed solely by their counsel and dictates ; and had neither will, ears, nor tongues but theirs  
 “ By them, or rather from them, all offices, prætor, pontifex, consul, were to be asked. As for you  
 “ you have indeed a very high regard for your  
 “ freed-

freedmen, but you regard them as freedmen, and believe them sufficiently honoured in the circumstances of worthy men of moderate fortune. For you know, that there is not a more infallible proof of the prince's meanness, than the greatness of his freedmen."

*Nothing exalts the prince like descending to the man.*

*Cui nihil ad augendum fastigium superest, hic uno modo crescere potest, si se ipse submittat, securus magnitudinis suæ. Neque enim ab ullo periculo fortuna principum longius abest, quam ab humilitate.*

"To him who has attained the highest fortune, there remains but one means for exalting himself, and that is, secure in his greatness, to neglect and descend from it properly. Of all the dangers princes can incur, the least they have to fear, is making themselves cheap by humility.

*In what the greatness of princes consists.*

*Ut felicitatis est quantum velis posse, sic magnitudinis ille quantum possis.*

"As it is the highest felicity to be capable of doing all the good you will, so it is the most exalted greatness to desire to do all the good you can."

*Of Pliny's style.*

PLINY'S panegyric has always passed for his masterpiece, and even in his own time, when many of his pieces of eloquence that had acquired him great reputation at the bar, were extant. In praising as consul, and by order of the senate, so accomplished a prince as Trajan, to whose favour he was besides highly indebted, it is not to be wondered that he made an extraordinary effort of genius, as well to express his private gratitude, as the universal joy of the empire. His wit shines out every

*Pectus est  
quod dis-  
tos facit.  
Quintil.*

*Ep. 12. l. 3.*

every where in his discourse; but his heart is still more evident in it, and all know that true eloquence flows from the heart.

When he spoke this panegyric, it was not so long as it is at present. It was not till after the first essay, that, like an able painter, he added new strokes of art to the portrait of his hero; but all taken from the life, and which, far from altering the likeness and truth, only rendered them stronger and more sensible. \* He gives us himself the reason that induced him to act in this manner: "My first view, says he, was to make the emperor (if possible) more in love with his own virtues, by the charms of just and natural praises; and next to point out to his successors, not as a master, but under the cover of example, the most certain paths to solid glory. For though it be laudable to form princes by precepts, it is difficult not to say proud and assuming. But to transmit the praises of a most excellent prince to posterity is setting up a light to guide succeeding emperors, and to the full as useful, with no arrogance." It was not easy for him to have proposed a more perfect model. Trajan may be said to have united all the qualities of a great prince in one only, which was in being perfectly convinced that he was not emperor for himself, but for his people. But that is not the present question.

The style of his discourse is elegant, florid, and luminous, as that of a panegyric ought to be, in

\* *Officium consulatus injunxit mihi ut Reip. nomine Principi gratias agerem. Quod ego in Senatu cum ad rationem & loci & temporis ex more fecissem, bono civi convenientissimum credid eadem illa spatiosius & uberius volumine amplecti. Primum, ut Imperatori nostro virtutes suae veris laudibus commendarentur deinde ut futuri Principes, non quasi à magistro, sed tamen sub exemplo praeemonerentur, qua potissimum via possent ad eandem gloriam niti. Nam praecipere qualis esse debeat Princeps, pulcrum quidem, sed onerosum ac prope superbum est. Laudare verò optimum Principem, ac per hoc posteris, velut è speculo, lumen quod sequantur ostendere, idem utilitatis habet, arrogantiae nihil.*



which it is allowable to display with pomp whatever is most shining in eloquence. The thoughts in it are fine, solid, very numerous, and often seem entirely new. The diction, though generally simple enough, has nothing low, or that does not suit the subject, and support its dignity. The descriptions are lively, natural, circumstantial, and full of happy images, which set the object before the eyes, and render it sensible. The whole piece abounds with maxims and sentiments truly worthy of the prince it praises.

As fine and eloquent as this discourse is, it cannot however in my opinion be judged of the sublime kind. We do not see in it, as in Cicero's orations, I mean even of the demonstrative kind, those warm and emphatical expressions; noble and sublime thoughts, bold and affecting turns and fallies, and figures full of vivacity and fire, which surprise, astonish, and transport the soul out of itself. His eloquence does not resemble those great rivers that roll their waves with noise and majesty, but rather a clear and agreeable stream which flows gently under the shade of the trees that adorn its banks. Pliny leaves his reader perfectly calm and in his natural situation of mind. He pleases, but by parts and passages. A kind of monotony prevails throughout his whole panegyric, which makes it not easy to bear the reading of it to the end; whereas Cicero's longest oration seems the finest, and gives the most pleasure. To this I must add, that Pliny's style favours a little of the taste for antitheses, broken thoughts, and studied turns of phrase; which prevailed in his time. He did not abandon himself to them; but was obliged to give into the mode. The same taste is obvious in his letters, but with less offence, because they are all detached pieces, in which such a style does not displease: I believe them however far from being comparable to those of Cicero. But, all things

rightly considered, Pliny's letters and panegyric deserve the esteem and approbation all ages have given them; to which I shall add, that his translator (into French) ought to share them with him.

*Antient Panegyrics.*

There is a collection of Latin orations extant, intitled *Panegyrici veteres*, which contains panegyrics upon several of the Roman emperors. That of Pliny is at the head of them, with eleven of the same kind after it. This collection, besides including abundance of facts not to be found elsewhere may be of great use to such as have occasion to compose panegyrics. The Antients of a better age supply us with no models of this kind of discourses except Cicero's oration for the Manilian law, and some parts of his other harangues, which are finished master-pieces of the demonstrative kind. The same beauty and delicacy are not to be expected in the panegyrics of which I am speaking. Remote-ness from the Augustan age had occasioned a great decline of eloquence, which no longer retained that antient purity of language, beauty of expression, sobriety of ornaments, and simple and natural air, that rose, when necessary, into an admirable loftiness and sublimity of style. But there is abundance of wit in these discourses, with very fine thoughts, happy turns, lively descriptions, and extremely solid praises.

To give the reader some idea of them, I shall content myself with transcribing two passages here in Latin only. They are extracted from the panegyric spoken by Nazarius in honour of Constantine the Great, upon the birth-day of the two Cæsar his sons. St. Jerom mentions this Nazarius as celebrated orator, and says that he had a daughter no less esteemed than himself for eloquence.

*First passage.*

Nazarius speaks here of the two Cæsars: *Nobilissimorum Cæsarum laudes exequi velle, studium quidem dulce, sed non & cura mediocris est; quorum in annis pubescentibus non erupturæ virtutis tumens germen, non flos præcursor indolis bonæ lætior quam uberior apparet; sed jam facta grandifera, & contra rationem ætatis maximorumque fructuum matura perceptio. Quorum alter jam obterendis hostibus gravis terrorem paternum, quo semper barbaria omnis intremuit, derivare ad nomen suum cœpit: alter jam Consulatum, jam venerationem sui, jam patrem sentiens, si quid intactum aut parens aut frater reservet, declarat mox victorem futurum, qui animo jam vincit ætatem. Rapiatur quippe ad similitudinem suorum excellens quæque natura, nec sensim ac lentè indicium promit boni, cum involucra infantie vividum rumpit ingenium.*

*Second passage.*

Nazarius praises a virtue in Constantine very rarely found in princes, but highly estimable, that is, continence. He adds also several other praises to it:

*Jam illa vix audeo de tanto Principe commemorare, quod nullam matronarum, cui forma emendatio fuerit, boni sui piguit; cum sub abstinentissimo Imperatore species luculenta, non incitatrix licentiæ esset, sed pudoris ornatricis. Quæ sine dubio magna, seu potius divina laudatio, sæpe & in ipsis etiam philosophis, non tam re exhibita, quam disputatione jactata. Sed remittamus hoc principi nostro, qui ita temperantiam ingenerare omnibus cupit, ut eam non ad virtutum suarum decus adscribendam, sed ad naturæ ipsius honestatem referendam arbitretur. Quid, faciles aditus? quid, aures patientissimas? quid, benigna responsa? quid, vultum ipsum augusti decoris gravitate, hilaritate permixta, venerandum quiddam & amabile remidentem, quis digne exequi possit?*



## OF LATIN ORATORS.

Can any thing be more solid than this thought? No lady, however beautiful, has had reason to repent her being so; because, under so wise a prince as Constantine, beauty is not an attraction to vice, but the ornament of virtue. And could it be better expressed? *Cum sub abstinentissimo Imperatore species luculenta, non incitatrix licentiæ esset, sed pudoris ornatrix.*

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
ARTS and SCIENCES  
OF THE  
ANTIEN TS, &c.

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OF THE  
SUPERIOR SCIENCES.

**W**E are now come to that part of literature which is the greatest and most exalted in the order of natural knowledge, I mean Philosophy, and the Mathematics that are a branch of it. The latter have under them a great number of Arts and Sciences, which either depend upon or relate to them. The study of these requires, for succeeding in it, force and extent of mind, which natural qualities it highly improves. It is easy to conceive that subjects so various, extensive, and important, can only be treated very superficially in this place: neither do I pretend to take them all in, or to give an exact detail of them here. I shall confine myself to the most select, and shall treat of what seems most proper to gratify, or rather to excite, the curiosity of readers

## OF THE SUPERIOR SCIENCES.

little versed in such matters, and to give them some idea of the history of the great men who have distinguished themselves in these sciences, and of the improvements they have acquired in coming down from the antients to the moderns. For it is not here as in polite learning (the *Belles-Lettres*,) in which, to say no more, it is most certain that the latter ages have added nothing to the productions of Athens and Rome.

All the sciences, of which I am to speak here, may be divided into two parts; Philosophy and the Mathematics. Philosophy will be the subject of this twenty-sixth book; and Mathematics of the following, which will be the last.





O F  
P H I L O S O P H Y.

**P**HILOSOPHY is the study of nature and morality founded on the evidence of reason. This science was at first called σοφία, *Wisdom*; and the professors of it σοφοί, *Sages* or *Wisemen*. Those names seemed too arrogant to Pythagoras, for which reason he substituted more modest ones to them, calling this science *Philosophy*, that is to say, love of wisdom; and those who taught or applied themselves to it *Philosophers*, lovers of wisdom.

Almost in all times and in all civilised nations, there have been studious persons of exalted genius who cultivated this science with great application: the Priests in Egypt, the Magi in Persia, the Chaldeans in Babylon, the Brachmans or Gymnosophists in India, and the Druids amongst the Gauls. Though philosophy owes its origin to several of those I have now mentioned, I shall consider it here only as it appeared in Greece, which gave it new lustre, and became in a manner its school in general. Not only some particulars, dispersed here and there in different regions, from time to time, make happy efforts, and by their writings and reputation give a shining, but short and transient, light; but Greece, by a singular privilege, brought up and formed in her bosom, during a long and uninterrupted series of ages, a multitude, or, to speak more properly, a people of philosophers, solely employed in inquiring after truth; many of whom with that view renounced their fortunes, quitted

P 4

their

their countries, undertook long and laborious voyages, and passed their whole lives to extreme old age in study.

Can we believe that this tenacious concurrence of learned and studious persons, of so long duration in one and the same country, was the mere effect of chance, and not of a peculiar Providence, which excited so numerous a succession of philosophers to support and perpetuate antient tradition concerning certain essential and capital truths? How useful were their precepts upon morality, upon the virtues and duties, in preventing the growth or rather inundation of depravity and vice? For instance, what hideous disorder had taken place, if the Epicurean had been the sole prevailing sect! How much did their disputes conduce to preserve the important doctrines of the difference between matter and mind, the immortality of the soul, and the existence of a supreme Being! \* It is not to be doubted but God has discovered admirable principles to them upon all these points, preferably to the many other nations whom barbarity continued in profound ignorance.

Rom. i.  
18—21.

It is indeed true, that many of these philosophers advanced strange absurdities. And even all of them, according to St. Paul, *held the truth in unrighteousness—because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful.* None of their schools had ever the courage to maintain or prove the unity of God, though all the great philosophers were fully convinced of that truth. God has been pleased by their example to teach us, what man abandoned to himself, and his mere capacity, is. During four hundred years and upwards, all these great geniusses, so subtle, penetrating, and profound, were incessantly disputing, examining, and dogmatizing, without being able to

\* *Because that which may be known of God, is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them.* Rom. i. 19.

agree upon, or conclude any thing. They were not destined by God to be the light of the world: *Those did not the Lord chuse, neither gave he the way of knowledge unto them.* Baruch iii. 27.

Philosophy, amongst the Greeks, was divided into two great sects: the one called the *Ionic*, founded by Thales of Ionia; the other the *Italic*, because it was established by Pythagoras in that part of Italy, called *Græcia Magna*. Both the one and the other were divided into many other branches, as we shall soon see.

This in general is the subject of my intended dissertation upon the philosophy of the antients. It would swell to an immense size, were I to treat it in all its extent, which does not suit my plan. I shall content myself, therefore, in giving the history and opinions of the most distinguished amongst these philosophers, with relating what seems most important and instructive, and best adapted to gratify the just curiosity of a reader, who considers the actions and principles of these philosophers as an essential part of history, but a part of which it suffices to have a superficial knowledge and general idea. My guides amongst the antients will be Cicero in his philosophical works, and Diogenes Laertius in his treatise upon the philosophers; and, amongst the moderns, the learned Englishman Mr. Stanley, who has composed an excellent work upon this subject.

I shall divide my dissertation into two parts. In the first, I shall relate the history of the philosophers, without dwelling much upon their opinions; in the second, I shall treat the history of philosophy itself, and the principal maxims of the different Sects.





## PART THE FIRST.

## HISTORY of the PHILOSOPHERS.

I Shall run over all the Sects of antient philosophy, and give a brief history of the philosophers who distinguished themselves most in each.



## CHAPTER I.

## HISTORY of the PHILOSOPHERS

*Of the Ionic sect, to their division into various branches.*

THE IONIC SECT, to reckon from Thales, who is considered as the founder of it, down to Philo and Antiochus that Cicero heard, subsisted above five hundred years.

## THALES.

Diog.  
Laert.  
A. M.  
3364.  
Ant. J. C.  
640.

THALES was of Miletus, a famous city of Ionia. He came into the world the first year of the XXXVth Olympiad.

To improve himself in the knowledge of the most learned persons of those times, he made several voyages, according to the custom of the antients; at first into the island of Crete, then into Phœnicia, and afterwards into Egypt, where he consulted the priests of Memphis, who cultivated the superior sciences with extreme application. Under these great masters he learned geometry, astronomy, and philosophy. A pupil of this kind does not long continue so. Thales accordingly proceeded very soon from lessons to discoveries. His masters of Memphis learned from him the method of measuring

During exactly the immense pyramids which still subsist.

Egypt was at that time governed by Amasis, a prince who loved letters, because he was very learned himself. He set all the value it deserved upon the merit of Thales, and gave him public marks of his esteem. But that Greek philosopher, who was fond of liberty and independence, had not the talents for supporting himself in a court. He was a great astronomer, a great geometrician, and an excellent philosopher, but a bad courtier. The too free manner in which he declaimed against tyranny displeased Amasis, and made him conceive impressions of distrust and fear of him, to his prejudice, which he did not take too much pains to remove, and which were followed soon after with his entire disgrace. Greece was the better for it. Thales quitted the court, and returned to Miletus to diffuse the treasures of Egypt in the bosom of his country.

The great progress he had made in the sciences, occasioned his being ranked in the number of the seven sages of Greece, so famed among the antients. Of these seven sages, only Thales founded a sect of philosophers, because he applied himself to the contemplation of nature, formed a school and a system of doctrines, and had disciples and successors. The others made themselves remarkable only by a more regular kind of life, and some precepts of morality which they gave occasionally.

I have spoken elsewhere of these sages with some extent, as well as of many circumstances of the life of Thales: of his residence in the court of Cræsus king of Lydia, and his conversation with Solon. I have repeated there the sensible pleasantry of a woman who saw him fall into a ditch, whilst he was contemplating the stars: *How*, said she to him, *should you know what passes in the heavens, when you do not see what is just at your feet?* and

*Antient History, Vol. II. towards the end.*

and his ingenious manner of evading his mother, when she pressed him earnestly to marry, by answering her, when he was young, *It is too soon yet*; and, after his return from Egypt, *It is too late now*.

The reasons, which had prevented Thales from giving himself chains by entering into the married state, made him prefer a life of tranquillity to the most splendid employments. Prompted by a warm desire of knowing nature, he studied it assiduously in the happy leisure which a strict retirement afforded him, impenetrable to tumult and noise, but open to all whom the love of truth, or occasion for his counsel, brought to him. He quitted it very rarely; and that only to take a frugal repast at the house of his friend Thrasybulus, who by his abilities became king of Miletus, at the time of the treaty made by that city with Alyattes king of Lydia.

Cic. de  
Nat. Deor.  
l. 1. n. 25.  
Apul Flo-  
rid.

Cicero tells us, that Thales was the first of the Greeks who treated the subject of physics.

The glory of having made several fine discoveries in astronomy is ascribed to him: of which one that relates to the magnitude of the sun's diameter compared with the circle of his annual motion, gave him great pleasure. Accordingly a rich man, to whom he had imparted it, offering that philosopher whatever reward he thought fit for it, Thales asked him no other, but that he would give the honour of the discovery to its author. This is an instance of the character of the learned, who are infinitely more sensible to the honour of a new discovery than to the greatest rewards; and of the truth of what \* Tacitus says in speaking of Helvidius Priscus, *That the last thing the wise themselves renounce is the desire of glory*. He distinguished himself by his ability in foretelling the eclipses of the sun and moon with great exactness, which was considered in those times as a very wonderful matter.

\* Erant quibus appetentior famæ videbatur, quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur. *Tacit. Hist.* l. 4. c. 6.



St. Clemens Alexandrinus repeats two fine sayings of Thales, after Diogenes Laertius : \* Being asked one day what God was, he answered, *That which has neither beginning nor end.* Another asking him whether a man could conceal his actions from God? *How can that be,* replied he, *as it is not in his power to conceal even his thoughts from him.*

† Valerius Maximus adds, that Thales spoke thus, that the idea of God's presence to the most secret thoughts of the soul might induce men to keep their hearts as pure as their hands. Cicero makes exactly the same remark, though in terms something different. ‡ Thales, says he, who was the wisest of the seven sages, believed it of the last importance for men to be convinced, that the Divinity filled all places, and saw all things, which would render them in consequence wiser and more religious.

He died in the first year of the LVIIIth olympiad, aged fourscore and twelve, during his being present at the celebration of the Olympic games. A. M. 3456.  
Ant. J. C. 548.

### ANAXIMANDER.

Thales had for his successor Anaximander, his disciple and countryman. History has preserved no particular circumstances of his life. He departed from his master's doctrine in many points. It is said that he forewarned the Lacædemonians of the dreadful earthquake which destroyed their city. Cic. de Divin. l. 1. n. 112. He was succeeded by ANAXIMENES.

\* Rogatus Thales quid sit Deus? Id, inquit, quod neque habet principium, nec finem. Cum autem rogasset alius, an Deum lateat homo aliquid agens: Et quomodo, inquit, qui ne cogitans quidem?

† Mirificè Thales. Nam interrogatus an facta hominum deos fallerent; nec cogitata, inquit. Ut non solum manus, sed etiam mentes puras habere vellemus; cum secretis cogitationibus nostris cœleste numen adesse crederemus. *Val. Max. l. 7. c. 2.*

‡ Thales, qui sapientissimus inter septem fuit, dicebat, Homines existimare oportere deos omnia cernere, deorum omnia esse plena: fore enim omnes castiores. *Cic. de leg. n. 2. l. 36.*

ANAX.

## ANAXAGORAS.

A. M. 3456.  
Ant. J. C. 500.

ANAXAGORAS, one of the most illustrious philosophers of antiquity, was born at Clazomenæ in Ionia, about the LXXth olympiad, and was the disciple of Anaximenes. The nobility of his extraction, his riches, and the generosity which induced him to abandon his patrimony, rendered him very considerable. \* Believing the cares of a family and an estate obstacles to his taste for contemplation, he renounced them absolutely, in order to devote his whole time and application to the study of wisdom, and the inquiry after truth, which were his only pleasures. † When he returned into his own country after a long voyage, and saw all his lands lie abandoned and uncultivated, far from regretting the loss, he cried out, *I should have been undone, if all this had not been ruined.* Socrates, in his ironical way, affirmed that the sophists of his time had more wisdom than Anaxagoras; as, instead of renouncing their estates like him, they laboured strenuously to enrich themselves, convinced as they were of the stupidity of old times, and that THE WISE MAN OUGHT TO BE WISE FOR HIMSELF, that is to say, that they ought to employ their whole pains and industry in amassing as much money as possible.

Plat. in Hipp. maj. p. 283.

Anaxagoras, in order to apply himself wholly to study, renounced the cares and honours of government. No man however was more capable of succeeding in public affairs. We may judge of his abilities in that way from the wonderful progress made by his pupil Pericles in policy. It was to

Plut. in Peric.  
p. 154.

\* Quid aut Homero ad delectationem animi ac voluptatem, aut cuiquam docto defuisse unquam arbitramur? An, ni ita se res haberet, Anaxagoras, aut hic ipse Democritus, agros & patrimonia sua reliquissent, huic discendi querendique divinæ delectationi toto se animo dedissent? Cic. *Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. n. 114. & 115.*

† Cum è diutina peregrinatione patriam repetisset, possessionesque desertas vidisset: NON ESSEM, inquit, EGO SALVUS, NISI ISTÆ PERIISSENT. Val. Max. l. 8. c. 7.

him

him he was indebted for those grave and majestic manners that rendered him so capable of governing the commonwealth. It was he that laid the foundation of that sublime and triumphant eloquence which acquired him so much power, and who taught him to fear the gods without superstition. In a word, he was his counsellor, and assisted him with his advice in the most important affairs, as Pericles himself declared. I have elsewhere mentioned the little care the latter took of his master, and that Anaxagoras, wanting the necessaries of life, resolved to suffer himself to die of hunger. Pericles upon this news flew to his house, and earnestly intreated him to renounce so melancholy a resolution: *When one would use a lamp,* replied the philosopher, *one takes care to supply it with oil, that it may not go out.*

Plut. in  
Peric.  
p. 162.

Wholly engrossed in the study of the secrets of nature, which was his passion, he had equally abandoned riches and public affairs. Upon being asked one day, whether he had no manner of regard for the good of his country? *Yes, yes,* said he, lifting up his hand towards heaven, *I have an extreme regard for the good of my country.* He was asked another time to what end he was born? to which he answered, *To contemplate the sun, moon, and skies.* Is that then the end to which man is destined?

Diog.  
Laert.

He came to Athens at the age of twenty, about the first year of the LXXVth olympiad, very near the time of Xerxes's expedition against Greece. Some authors say, that he brought thither the school of philosophy which had flourished in Ionia from its founder Thales. He continued and taught at Athens during thirty years.

Diog.  
Laert.  
A. M.  
3484.  
Ant. J. C.  
480.

The circumstances and event of the prosecution fomented against him at Athens for impiety are differently related. The opinion of those who believe that Pericles could find no surer method for preserving that philosopher, than to make him quit Athens, seems the most probable. The reason, or rather



rather the pretext, for so heavy an accusation was that, in teaching upon the nature of the sun, he defined it *a mass of burning matter*; as if he had thereby degraded the sun; and excluded it from the number of the gods. It is not easy to comprehend how, in so learned a city as Athens, a philosopher should not be allowed to explain the properties of the stars by physical reasons, without hazarding his life. But the whole affair was an intrigue and a cabal of the enemies of Pericles, who were for destroying him, and endeavoured to render himself suspected of impiety, from his great intimacy with this philosopher.

Anaxagoras was found guilty through contumacy, and condemned to die. When he received this news, he said, without shewing any emotion *Nature has long ago passed sentence of death upon my judges, as well as me.* He remained at Lampacus during the rest of his life. In his last sickness upon his friends asking him whether he would have his body carried to Clazomenæ after his death \* *No*, said he, *that's unnecessary. The way to the infernal † regions is as long from one place as another.* When the principal persons of the city came to receive his last orders, and to know what he desired of them after his death; he replied, nothing, except that the youth might have leave to play every year upon the day of his death. This was done accordingly, and continued a custom to the time of Diogenes Laertius. He is said to have lived sixty-two years. Great honours were paid; and even an altar erected, to him.

\* Nihil necesse est, inquit: undique enim ad inferos tantundem viæ est. Cic. 1. Tusc. n. 104.

† Infernal regions, or hell. The antients understood by this word the place to which the souls of all men go after death.

## ARCHELAUS.

ARCHELAUS, of Athens according to some, and of Miletus according to others, was the disciple and successor of Anaxagoras, in whose doctrine he made little alteration. Some say that it was he who transported philosophy from Ionia to Athens. He confined himself principally to the physics, as his predecessors had done: but he introduced the ethics a little more than them. He formed a disciple, who placed them highly in honour, and made them his capital study.

## SOCRATES.

This disciple of Archelaus was the famous Socrates, who had been also the pupil of Anaxagoras. He was born in the fourth year of the LXXVIIth Olympiad, and died the first of the XCVth, after having lived seventy years.

Cicero has observed in more than one place, that Socrates, considering that all the vain speculations upon the things of nature tended to nothing useful, and did not contribute to render man more virtuous, devoted himself solely to the study of morality. \* *He was the first, says he, who brought philosophy down from heaven, where she had been employed till then in contemplating the course of the stars; who established her in cities, introduced her into private houses, and obliged her to direct her inquiries to what concerned the manners, duties, virtues, and vices of life.* Socrates is therefore considered with reason as the founder of moral philosophy amongst the Greeks.

This was not because he had not perfectly studied the other branches of philosophy: he possessed them all in a supreme degree, having industriously formed

\* Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit à cœlo, & in urbibus collocavit, & in domos etiam introduxit, & coegit de vita & moribus, rebusque bonis & malis quærere. *Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. n. 10.*

Epist. ad  
Æschin.

himself in them. But, as he judged them of little use in the conduct of life, he made little use of them: and, if we may believe Xenophon, he was never heard in his disputes to mention either astronomy, geometry, or the other sublime sciences, that before him had solely employed the philosophers; in which Xenophon seems designedly to contradict and refute Plato, who often puts subjects of that kind into the mouth of Socrates.

*Ant. Hist.*  
Vol. IV.

I shall say nothing here either of the circumstances of the life and death of Socrates, or of his opinions: I have done that elsewhere with sufficient extent. It only remains for me to speak of his disciples, who, though all of them made it their honour to acknowledge Socrates their chief, were divided in their opinions.

### XENOPHON.

*Ant. Hist.*  
Vol. IV.

XENOPHON was certainly one of the most illustrious disciples of Socrates, but did not form a sect; for which reason I separate him from the rest. He was as great a warrior as philosopher. I have related at large the share he had in the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand.

*Diog. La-*  
*crt.*

His adherence to the party of young Cyrus, who had declared himself openly against the Athenians, drew upon him their hatred, and occasioned his banishment. After his return from the expedition against Artaxerxes, he attached himself to Agesilaus king of Sparta, who then commanded in Asia. As Agesilaus knew perfectly well how to distinguish merit, he had always a most peculiar regard for Xenophon, and, upon being recalled by the Ephori for the defence of his country, carried the Athenian general thither along with him. Xenophon after various events retired to Corinth with his two sons, where he passed the rest of his days. In the war between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, when the people of Athens resolved to aid the latter,

he



he sent his two sons to that city. Gryllus signified himself in a peculiar manner in the battle of Mantinæa, and some pretend that it was he who wounded Epaminondas in the action. He did not survive so glorious an exploit long, but was killed himself. The news of his death was brought to his father, whilst he was offering a sacrifice. Upon hearing it he took the wreath from his head; but, upon being informed by the courier, that his son fell fighting gloriously, he immediately put it on again, and continued the sacrifice without shedding a single tear, saying coldly, *I knew the son to whom I gave life was not immortal.* Might not this be called a constancy, or rather hardness of heart, truly Spartan?

Xenophon died the first year of the CVth Olympiad, aged fourscore and ten.

A. M.  
3644.  
Ant. J. C.  
360.

I shall speak elsewhere of his works. He was the first that reduced to writing and published the discourses of Socrates, but exactly as they came from his mouth and without any additions of his own, as Plato made to them.

It is pretended that there was a secret jealousy between those two philosophers, little worthy of the name they bore, and the profession of wisdom upon which they both piqued themselves: and some proofs are given of this jealousy. Plato never mentions Xenophon\* in any of his books, which are very numerous, nor Xenophon him, though they both frequently speak of the disciples of Socrates. Besides which, all the world knows that the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon is a book, in which, relating the history of Cyrus, whose education he extols, he lays down the model of an accomplished prince, and the idea of a perfect government. We are told, that he composed this piece with no other design but to contradict Plato's Commonwealth,

Aul. Gell.  
l. 14. c. 3.

\* Vossius has observed that Xenophon has spoke once of Plato, but only in mentioning his name. Memorab. l. 3. p. 772.

De leg.

l. 3. p. 697.

which had lately appeared; and that Plato was so angry upon that account, that, to discredit this work, he spoke of Cyrus, in a book which he afterwards wrote, as of a prince indeed of great courage and love of his country, but one \* whose education had been very bad. Aulus Gellius, who relates what I have now said, cannot imagine that two such great philosophers, as those in question, could be capable of so mean a jealousy; (it is however but too common amongst men of letters) and he chuses rather to ascribe it to their admirers and partisans. And indeed it often happens that disciples, through a too partial zeal, are more delicate in respect to the reputation of their masters, and urge what concerns them with greater warmth, than themselves.

\* Παιδείας δὲ ὀρθῆς εἶχ' ἥφθαι τὸ παράπαν.

## CHAPTER II.

*Division of the Ionic philosophy into different sects.*

**B**EFORE Socrates there had been no different sects amongst the philosophers, though their opinions were not always the same: but from his time many rose up, of which some subsisted longer in vogue, and others were of shorter duration. I shall begin with the latter, which are the Cyrenaic, Megarean, Elian, and Eretrian sects. They take their names from the places where they were instituted.

## ARTICLE I.

*Of the Cyrenaic sect.*

## ARISTIPPUS.

**A**RISTIPPUS was the chief of the Cyrenaic Laert. sect. He was originally of Cyrene in Libya. The great reputation of Socrates induced him to quit his country, in order to settle at Athens and to have the pleasure of hearing him. He was one of that philosopher's principal disciples: but he led a life very repugnant to the precepts taught in that excellent school, and when he returned into his own country, opened a very different course for his disciples. The great principle of his doctrine was, that the supreme good of man during this life is pleasure. His manners did not belie his opinions, and he employed a ready and agreeable turn of wit in eluding, by pleasantries, the just reproaches made him on account of his excesses. He perpetually abandoned himself to feasting and women. \* When he

\* Ne Aristippus quidem ille Socraticus erubuit, cum esset obiectum habere eum Laida: *Habeo*, inquit, *Laida*. non habeo à *Laide*. Cic. Ep. 26. l. 9. ad Fam.



was raillied upon his commerce with the courtezan Lais: *True*, said he, *I possess Lais, but not Lais me.* Upon being reproached for living with too much splendor, he replied: *If good living were a crime, there would not be so much feasting on the festivals of the gods.*

The reputation of Dionysius the tyrant, whose court was the centre of pleasures, whose purse was said to be always open to the learned, and whose table was always served with the utmost magnificence, drew him to Syracuse. As his wit was supple, ready, and insinuating, and he omitted no occasion of soothing the prince, and bore his raillery and intervals of bad humour with a patience next to slavish, he had abundance of credit in that court. Dionysius asking him one day, why philosophers were always seen in the houses of the great, and the great never in those of philosophers? *It is*, replied Aristippus, *because philosophers know what they want, and the great don't.*

*If Aristippus could content himself with herbs*, said Diogenes the Cynic to him, *he would not be so base as to court princes.* *If my critic*, replied Aristippus, *knew how to make his court to princes, he would not content himself with herbs.*

*Si pranderet olus patienter, Regibus uti,  
Nollet Aristippus. Si sciret Regibus uti,  
Fastidiret olus qui me notat.* Hor. Ep. 17. l. 1.

The one's view was good living, the other's to be admired by the people.

*Scurror ego ipse mihi, populo su.*

And which is best? Horace, without hesitating, gives Aristippus the preference, whom he praises in more than one place. He resembled him too much himself, not to do so. However he dares not abandon

don himself to the principles of Aristippus, and falls insensibly into them by propensity of nature.

*Nunc in Aristippi furtim præcepta relabor.*

Id. Ep. I. l. I.

So mean is the love of pleasure, that, let those who give themselves up to it dissemble ever so well, they cannot intirely conceal their shame!

Aristippus was the first disciple of Socrates that took a certain præmium from those he taught, which gave his master great offence. Having demanded fifty drachma's of a man for teaching his son: "How About 25 shillings. fifty drachma's, cried the father! Why that's enough "to buy a slave. Indeed? replied Aristippus, "buy him then, and you'll have two."

Aristippus died on his return from Syracuse to Cyrene. He had a daughter, named Areta, whom he took great care to educate in his own principles, in which she became a great proficient. She instructed her son Aristippus, surnamed *Μητροδιδάκτωρ*, in them herself.

## THEODORUS.

THEODORUS, the disciple of Aristippus, beside Laert. the other principles of the Cyrenaics, publicly taught that there were no gods. The people of Cyrene banished him. He took refuge at Athens, where he would have been tried and condemned in the Areopagus, if Demetrius Phalereus had not found means to save him. Ptolomy the son of Lagus received him into his service, and sent him once as his ambassador to Lysimachus. The philosopher spoke to that prince with so much impudence, that one of his ministers, who was present, told him: *I fancy, Theodorus, you imagine there are no kings, as well as no gods.*

It is believed that this philosopher was at last condemn'd to die, and obliged to take poison.

We see here that the impious doctrine of atheism; contrary to the general and immemorial belief of mankind, scandalised and offended all nations so much, as to be deemed worthy of death. It owes its birth to teachers abandoned to the debaucheries of women and the table, and who propose to themselves the pleasures of the senses as the great ends of being.

## ARTICLE II.

*Of the Megarean sect.*

**I**T was instituted by EUCLID, who was of Megara, a city of Achaia, near the Isthmus of Corinth. He actually studied under Socrates at Athens, at the time of the famous decree, that partly occasioned the Peloponnesian war, by which the citizens of Megara were prohibited to set foot in Athens upon pain of death. So great a danger could not abate his zeal for the study of wisdom. In the disguise of a woman he entered the city in the evening, passed the night with Socrates and went back before light, going regularly every day almost ten leagues forwards and backwards. There are few examples of so warm and constant an ardour for knowledge.

Amplius  
viginti  
millia.

He departed very little from his master's opinions. After the death of Socrates, Plato and other philosophers, who apprehended the effects of it, retired to him at Megara, who gave them a very good reception. His brother one day in great rage upon some particular subject of discontent, saying to him: *May I perish, if I am not revenged on you. And may I perish,* replied Euclid *if my kindness does not at length correct this violence of your temper, and make you as much my friend as ever.*

The Euclid, of whom we speak, is not Euclid the mathematician, who was also of Megara, but flourished above ninety years after under the first of the Ptolomy's.

His



His successor was EUBULIDES, who had been his disciple. Diodorus succeeded the latter. We find in the sequel, that these three philosophers contributed very much to the introduction into logical disputations of a bad taste for subtle reasonings, founded solely upon sophisms.

I shall almost pass over in silence what regards the Elian and Eretrian sects, which include few things of any importance.

### ARTICLE III.

*Of the Elian and Eretrian sects.*

I Confound these two sects together, and reduce what I have to say of them to a few words, as they contain nothing important.

The *Elian* sect was founded by Phædon, one of the favourite disciples of Socrates. He was of Elis in Peloponnesus.

The *Eretrian* was so called from Eretria a city of Eubœa, the country of Menedemus, its founder.

### ARTICLE IV.

*Of the three sects of Academics.*

OF all the sects the school of Socrates brought forth, the most famous was the **ACADEMIC**, so called from the place where they assembled, which was the house of an antient hero of Athens, named **ACADEMUS**, situated in the suburbs of that city, where Plato taught. We have seen in the history of Cimon the Athenian general, who sought to distinguish himself no less by his love for learning and learned men than his military exploits, that he adorned the Academy with fountains and walks of trees for the convenience of the philosophers who assembled there. From that time all places, where men of letters assemble, have been called *Academies*.

Three

Three *Academies*, or sects of Academics, are reckoned. Plato was the founder of the *antient*, or first. Arcesilaus, one of his successors, made some alterations in his philosophy, and by that reformation founded what is called the *middle*, or second academy. The *new*, or third academy, is attributed to Carneades. We shall soon see wherein their difference consisted.

## S E C T. I.

*Of the antient Academy.*

**T**HOSE who made it flourish in succession to one another were Plato, Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemon, and Crantor.

## P L A T O.

A. M.

3576.

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428.

PLATO was born in the first year of the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad. He was at first called Aristocles from the name of his grandfather; but his master of the Palestra called him Plato from his large and broad shoulders, which name he retained. Whilst he was an infant in arms, sleeping one day under a myrtle, a swarm of bees settled upon his lips, which was taken for an omen, that the child would prove very eloquent, and distinguish himself highly by the sweetness of his stile. This came to pass, whatever we may think of the augury; from whence the surname of *Apis Attica* Athenian bee, was given him.

He studied grammar, music, and painting, under the most able masters. He applied himself also to poetry, and even composed tragedies, which he burnt at the age of twenty, after having heard Socrates. He attached himself solely to that philosopher; and, as he was exceedingly inclined to virtue by nature, made such improvements from the lessons of his master, that at twenty-five he gave extraordinary proofs of his wisdom.

The

The fate of Athens was at that time very deplorable. Lyfander the Lacædemonian general had established the thirty tyrants there. Plato's merit, which was already well known, induced them to use their utmost endeavours to engage him in their party, and to oblige him to share in the affairs of the government. To this he consented at first, with the hope either of opposing, or at least of softening, the tyranny: but he presently perceived, that the evil had no remedy, and, that to share in the public affairs, it was necessary either to render himself an accomplice of their crimes, or the victim of their appetites. He therefore waited a more favourable occasion.

That time seemed soon after to be arrived. The tyrants were expelled, and the form of the government intirely changed. But the affairs of the public were in no better a condition, and the state received new wounds every day. Socrates himself was sacrificed to the malice of his enemies. Plato retired to the house of Euclid at Megara, from whence he went to Cyrene, to cultivate the mathematics under Theodorus, the greatest mathematician of his time. He afterwards visited Egypt, and conversed a great while with the Egyptian priests, who taught him great part of their traditions. It is even believed, that they made him acquainted with the books of Moses and the prophets. Not content with all these acquisitions, he went to that part of Italy called Græcia Magna, to hear the three most famous Pythagoreans of those times, Philolaus, Archytas of Tarentum, and Eurytus. From thence he went into Sicily, to see the wonders of that island, and especially the volcano of mount Ætna. This voyage, which was a mere effect of his curiosity, laid the first foundations of the liberty of Syracuse, as I have explained at large in the history of Dionysius, the father and son, and in that of Dion. He intended to have gone to Persia,



sia, in order to have consulted the Magi : but was prevented by the wars which at that time troubled Asia.

At his return to his country after all his travels, in which he had acquired an infinitude of curious knowledge, he settled his abode in the quarter of the suburb of Athens, called the Academy, (of which we have spoken above) where he gave his lessons, and formed so many illustrious disciples.

Plato composed a system of doctrine from the opinions of three philosophers. He followed Heraclitus in natural and sensible things : that is to say, he believed, with Heraclitus, that there was but one world ; that all things were produced by their contraries ; that motion, which he calls war, occasions the production of beings, and rest their dissolution.

He followed Pythagoras in intellectual truths, or what we call the metaphysics : that is to say, he taught, as that philosopher did, that there is but one God, the author of all things ; that the soul is immortal ; that men have only to take pains to purge themselves of their passions and vices, in order to be united to God ; that after this life there is a reward for the good, and a punishment for the wicked ; that between God and man there are various orders of spirits, which are the ministers of the supreme Being. He had also taken the Metempsychosis from Pythagoras, but given it a construction of his own.

And finally, he imitated Socrates in respect to morality and politics ; that is to say, he reduced every thing to the manners, and laboured only to incline all men to discharge the duties of the state of life in which the Divine Providence has placed him.

He also very much improved logic, or, which is the same thing, the art of reasoning with order and exactness.

All the works of Plato, except his letters, of which only twelve are come down to us, are in the form of dialogues. He purposely chose that manner of writing, as more agreeable, familiar, comprehensive, and better adapted to instruct and persuade, than any other. By the help of it he succeeded wonderfully in placing truths in their full light. He gives to each of his speakers his proper character; and by an admirable \* chain of reasons, which necessarily induce each other, he leads them on to admit, or rather to say themselves, all he would prove to them.

As to the style, it is impossible to imagine any thing greater, more noble, or more majestic; that, says † Quintilian, he seems not to speak the language of men, but of the gods. The flow and numbers of his elocution form an harmony scarce inferior to that of Homer's poetry; and the Atticism, which, amongst the Greeks, was in point of style whatever was finest, most delicate, and most perfect in every kind, prevails in it universally, and shews itself every-where in a manner intirely peculiar.

But neither the beauty of style, the elegance and happiness of expressions, nor the harmony of numbers, constitute the value of Plato's writings. What is most to be admired in them is the solidity and greatness of the sentiments, maxims, and principles diffused throughout them, whether for the conduct of life, policy, government, or religion. I shall cite some passages from them in the sequel.

Plato died in the first year of the CVIIIth Olympiad, which was the thirteenth of the reign of Philip of Macedon, aged eighty-one, and upon the same day he was born.

A. M.

3656.

Ant. J. C.

348.

\* In dialogis Socraticorum, maximeque Platonis, adeo scitæ sunt interrogationes, ut, cum plerisque bene respondeatur, res tandem ad id quod volunt efficere, perveniat. *Quintil.* l. 5. c. 7.

† Ut mihi, non hominis ingenio, sed quodam Delphico videatur oraculo instinctus. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

He had many disciples, of whom the most distinguished were Speusippus his nephew by the mother's side, Xenocrates of Chalcedon, and the celebrated Aristotle. Theophrastus is also said to have been of the number of his hearers, and Demosthenes to have always considered him as his master; of which his stile is a good proof. Dion the brother-in-law of Dionysius the tyrant, also did him great honour by his excellent character, his inviolable attachment to his person, his extraordinary taste for philosophy, the rare qualities of his head and heart, and his great and heroic actions for re-establishing the liberty of his country.

Cic. Acad.  
Quæst. l. 1.  
B. 17—18.

After the death of Plato, his disciples divided themselves into two sects. The first continued to teach in the Academy, the name of which they retained. The others settled their school in the Lycæum, a place in Athens adorned with porticoes and gardens. They were called Peripatetics, and had Aristotle for their founder. These two sects differed only in name, and agreed as to opinions. They had both renounced the custom and maxim of Socrates, which was to affirm nothing, and to explain themselves in disputes only dubiously and with reserve. I shall speak of the Peripatetics in the sequel when I have briefly related the history of the philosophers who fixed their residence in the Academy.

### S P E U S I P P U S.

Laert.

I have already said that he was Plato's nephew. His conduct was so very irregular in his youth that his parents turned him out of their house. That of his uncle became his asylum. Plato behaved to him as if he had never heard of his debauched life. His friends were shocked and amazed at his placing his kindness so ill, and at so indolent a conduct, and blamed him for taking no pains to correct his nephew, and reform his dissolute manners. He replied calmly, that he laboured more effectually



lly to that purpose than they imagined, in shewing him, by his own manner of living, the infinite difference between virtue and vice, and between decency and depravity. And indeed that method succeeded so well, that it inspired Speusippus with a very great respect for him, and a violent desire of imitating him, and of devoting himself to philosophy, in the study of which he afterwards made a very great proficiency. It requires no common address to manage the spirit of a vicious young man, and to bring him over to a sense of his duty. The boiling heat of youth seldom gives way to violence, which often serves only to inflame and precipitate into despair.

Plato had cultivated a particular intimacy between Speusippus and Dion, with a view of softening the austere temper of the latter, by the gaiety and insinuating manners of his nephew.

He succeeded his uncle in the school after his death, but held it only eight years; after which his infirmities obliged him to resign it to Xenocrates. Speusippus did not depart from Plato's doctrine, but was not studious to imitate him in his practice. He was choleric, loved pleasure, and seemed self-interested; for he exacted a præmium from his disciples, contrary to the custom and principles of Plato.

## XENOCRATES.

XENOCRATES was of Chalcedon, and became a very early Plato's disciple.

He studied under that great master at the same time as Aristotle, but not with the same talents. He had occasion for a spur, and the other for a riddle; which are Plato's own words of them, who added, that, in putting them together, he coupled a horse with an ass. He is praised for not being

\* *Isocrates said the same thing of Theopompus and Euphorus.*

discouraged

discouraged by the slowness of his parts, which made study much more laborious to him than to others.

Plut. de

aud. p. 47.

Plutarch uses the example of him, and that of Cleantes, to encourage such as perceive they have less penetration and vivacity than others, and exhort them to imitate those two great philosophers, and like them, to set themselves above the ridicule of their companions. If Xenocrates, from the heaviness of his genius, was inferior to Aristotle, he surpassed him in practical philosophy and purity of manners.

Diog.

Laert.

He was naturally melancholy, and had something stiff and austere in his temper; for which reason Plato often advised him *to sacrifice to the Graces*, signifying clearly enough by those words that it was necessary for him to soften the severity of his temper. He sometimes reproved him for that fault with more force and less reserve, apprehending that his pupil's want of politeness and good nature would become an obstacle to all the good effects of his instruction and example. Xenocrates was not insensible to those reproaches: but they never diminished the profound respect he always had for his master. And when endeavours were used to make him angry with Plato, and he was provoked to defend himself with some vivacity, he stopped the mouths of his indiscreet friends with saying, *He uses me so for my good*. He took Plato's place in the second year of the CX Olympiad.

Ælian.

l. 14. c. 9.

He sometimes reproved him for that fault with more force and less reserve, apprehending that his pupil's want of politeness and good nature would become an obstacle to all the good effects of his instruction and example. Xenocrates was not insensible to those reproaches: but they never diminished the profound respect he always had for his master. And when endeavours were used to make him angry with Plato, and he was provoked to defend himself with some vivacity, he stopped the mouths of his indiscreet friends with saying, *He uses me so for my good*. He took Plato's place in the second year of the CX Olympiad.

A. M.

3666.

Diog.

Laert.

Diogenes Laertius says, that he loved neither pleasure, riches, nor praise. He shewed on many occasions a generous and noble disinterestedness. The court of Macedonia had the reputation of maintaining a great number of pensioners and spies in all the neighbouring republics, and to corrupt with bribes all persons sent to negotiate with them. Xenocrates was deputed with some other Athenians to Philip. That prince, who perfectly understood

sto

stood the art of insinuating into people's favour, applied himself in a particular manner to Xenocrates, whose merit and reputation he was apprized of. When he found him inaccessible to presents and interest, he endeavoured to mortify him by an affected contempt and ill treatment, not admitting him to his conferences with the other ambassadors from the commonwealth of Athens, whom he had corrupted by his caresses, feasts, and liberalities. Our philosopher, firm and unalterable in his principles, retained all his stiffness and integrity, and, though wholly excluded, continued perfectly easy, and never appeared either at audiences or feasts as his colleagues did. At their return to Athens, his colleagues endeavoured in concert to discredit him with the people, and complained, that he had been of no manner of use to them in this embassy; in consequence of which he was very near having a fine laid on him. Xenocrates, forced by the injustice of his accusers to break silence, explained all that had passed in Philip's court, made the people sensible of what importance it was to have a strict eye upon the conduct of deputies who had sold themselves to the enemy of the commonwealth, covered his colleagues with shame and confusion, and acquired immortal glory.

His disinterestedness was also put to the proof by Alexander the Great. The ambassadors of that prince, who without doubt came to Athens upon account of some negociation, (neither the time nor the affair are said) offered Xenocrates from their master fifty talents, that is to say, fifty thousand crowns. Xenocrates invited them to supper. The entertainment was simple, frugal, plain, and truly philosophical. \* The next day the deputies asked him, into whose hands they should pay the money

Cic. Tusc.

Quæst. l. 5.

n. 91.

Val. Max.

l. 4. c. 3.

\* Cum postridie rogarent eum, cui numerari juberet: Quid! Vos spernâ, inquit, cœnulâ non intellexistis, me pecunia non ezere? Quos cum tristiores vidisset, triginta minas accepit, ne aspernari re-  
is liberalitatem videretur. Cic.



they had orders to give him. *How!* said he to them, *did not my feast yesterday inform you, that I have no occasion for money?* He added that Alexander was more in want of it than him, because he had more mouths to feed. Seeing that his answer made them sad, he accepted of thirty minæ (about seventy-five pounds) that he might not seem to despise the king's liberality out of pride. \* Thus, says an historian, in concluding his account of this fact, the king would have purchased the friendship of the philosopher, and the philosopher would not sell it to the king.

Plut. in  
Flamin.  
p. 375.

His disinterestedness must have reduced him to great poverty, as he could not discharge a certain tax, which strangers were obliged to pay yearly into the public treasury of Athens. Plutarch tells us, that one day, as they were hauling him to prison for not having paid this tribute, the orator Lycurgus discharged the sum, and took him out of the hands of the farmers of the revenue, who frequently are not too sensible to the merit of the learned Xenocrates, some days after meeting the son of his deliverer, told him, *I pay your father the favour he did me with interest; for all the world praises him upon my account.* Diogenes Laertius tells us something very like this of him, which perhaps is the same fact disguised under different circumstances. He says that the Athenians sold him, because he could not pay the capitation laid upon strangers: but that Demetrius Phalereus bought him, and immediately gave him his liberty. It is not very probable, that the Athenians should treat a philosopher of the reputation of Xenocrates with so much cruelty.

Diog.  
Laert. in  
Xenoc.

Cic. Orat.  
pro Corn.  
Balb. n. 14.  
Val. Max.  
l. 6. c. 9.

Athens had a very high idea of his probity. On day when he appeared before the judges to give evidence in some affair, on his going towards the altar, in order to swear that what he had affirmed was true, all the judges rose up, and would not

\* Ita rex philosophi amicitiam emere voluit: philosophus regem suam vendere noluit. *Val. Max.*

suffer him to do so, declaring that his word was as satisfactory to them as an oath.

Happening in company, where abundance of scandal was talked, he did not share in it, and continued mute. Upon being asked by somebody the reason of his profound silence, he replied, *It is because I have often repented speaking, but never holding my tongue.*

He had a very fine maxim upon the education of youth, which it were to be wished parents would cause to be observed in their houses. \* He was, from their earliest infancy, for having wise and virtuous discourses often repeated in their presence; but without affectation; in order that they might seize in a manner on their ears, as on a place hitherto unoccupied, through which virtue and vice might equally penetrate to the heart; and that those wise and virtuous discourses, like faithful centinels, should keep the entrance firmly closed against all words that might corrupt the purity of manners in the least, till by long habit youth were become strong, and their † ears safe against the invenomed breath of bad conversation.

Plut de  
audit.  
p. 38.

According to Xenocrates, there are no true philosophers but those who do that voluntarily and of their own accord, which others do only through fear of punishment and the laws.

Plut. de  
virt. morali  
p. 446.

He composed several works, amongst the rest one upon the method of reigning well; at least Alexander asked it of him.

Diog.  
Laert.

He lost little time in visits, was very fond of the retirement of his study, and meditated much.

\* Τῶν λόγων τὰς φάσας φυλάττεισθαι παραιῶν, πρὶν ἑτέρες χερσὶς, ὥσπερ φύλακας, ἐντραφέντας ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας, τῷ ἔθει τὴν μά-  
λιστα κινημένην αὐτὴ καὶ ἀναπειθομένην χεῖραν κατασχεῖν.

† He alludes to the *Athletæ*, who in boxing used to cover their heads and ears with a kind of leathern cap, to deaden the violence of the blows. He says that this precaution is much more necessary to youth. For all the risk the *Athletæ* ran was of having their ears hurt; whereas young persons hazard their innocence, and even the loss of themselves.

He seldom was seen in the streets: but, when he appeared there, the debauched youth used to fly to avoid meeting him.

Diog.

Laert.

Val. Max.

l. 6. c. 90.

A young Athenian, more vicious than the rest, and absolutely infamous for his irregularities in which he gloried, was not so much awed by him. His name was Polemon. On leaving a party of debauch, passing by the school of Xenocrates, and finding the door open, he went in, full of wine, sweet with essence, and with a wreath on his head. In this condition he took his seat amongst the auditors, less to hear than out of insolence. The whole assembly were strangely surpris'd and offend'd. Xenocrates, without the least emotion or change of countenance, only varied the discourse, and went on with speaking upon temperance and sobriety, all the advantages of which he set in full light, by opposing to those virtues the shame and turpitude of the contrary vices. The young libertine, who listened with attention, opened his eyes to the deformity of his condition, and was ashamed of himself. \* The wreath falls from his head; with downcast eyes he hides himself in his cloak, and, instead of that gay insolence which he had shewn on entering the school, he appears serious and thoughtful. An entire change of conduct ensued; and, absolutely cured of his bad passions by a single discourse from an infamous debauchee, he became an excellent philosopher, and made an happy amends for the vices of his youth by a wise and regular course of life, from which he never departed.

A. M.

3688.

Ant. J. C.

316.

Xenocrates died at the age of eighty-two, the first year of the CXVIth Olympiad.

\* ————— Faciasne quod olim  
Mutatus Polemon? Ponas insignia morbi,  
Fasciolas, cubital, focias? potus ut ille  
Dicitur ex collo furtim carpisse coronas,  
Postquam est impransu correptus voce magistri.

Hor. Sat. 3. l. 1.

POLE



## POLEMON. CRATES. CRANTOR.

I join these three philosophers under the same title, because little is known of their lives.

POLEMON worthily succeeded his master Xenocrates, and never departed from his opinions, nor the example of wisdom and sobriety, which he had set him. He renounced wine in such a manner at <sup>Athen.</sup> the age of thirty, which was the time his celebrated <sup>l. 2. c. 44.</sup> change of conduct began, that during the rest of his life he never drank any thing but water.

CRATES, who was his successor, is little known, and must be distinguished from a Cynic philosopher of the same name, of whom we shall speak in the sequel.

CRANTOR was more famous. He was of Soli in Cilicia. He quitted his native country, and came to Athens, where he was the disciple of Xenocrates at the same time with Polemon. \* He passes for one of the great pillars of the Platonic sect. What Horace says of him, in praising Homer, argues the great reputation of this philosopher, and how much his principles of morality were in esteem:

Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile,  
quid non,

Pleniùs ac meliùs Chrysippo & Crantore dicit.

*Hor. Ep. 2. l. 1.*

*Who tells what's great, what mean, what fit, what not,  
better than Crantor or Chrysippus taught.*

The same cannot be said of his principles upon the nature of the soul, as we shall see in its place.

He wrote a book upon *Consolation*, which is lost: <sup>Plut. de</sup> was addressed to Hippocles, whom an early <sup>Consol.</sup> death had deprived of all his children. It is men- <sup>P. 104.</sup>

\* Crantor ille qui in nostra academia vel in primis fuit nobilis.  
*c. Tusc. Quæst. l. 3. n. 12.*

tioned\* as a book of gold, of which every word deserved to be got by heart. Cicero had made great use of it in a tract that bore the same title. Arcefilaus the author of the middle Academy was his disciple.

## S E C T. II.

*Of the Middle Academy.*

**I**T is so called, because it subsisted between the ancient Academy instituted by Plato, and the new that soon succeeded it, of which Carneades was the author.

## A R C E S I L A U S.

Diog.  
Laert. in  
Arcefil.

Num.  
apud Eu-  
seb. Præp.  
Evang.  
l. 14. c. 5.

Diog.  
Laert.

ARCESILAUS was born at Pitane in Æolia. He went to Athens and became the disciple of the greatest philosophers, of which number were Polemon, Theophrastus, Crantor, Diodorus, and Pyrrho. It was evidently of the last that he learnt to doubt every thing. He was only an Academic by name which he retained out of respect to Crantor, upon being whose disciple he valued himself.

He succeeded Crates, or, according to others Polemon, as professor in the Platonic school, in which he became an innovator. For he founded a sect, which was called the second or middle Academy, to distinguish it from that of Plato. He was very opposite to the Dogmatists, that is to say the philosophers who affirmed and decided. He seemed to doubt all things, maintained both sides of a question, and determined nothing. He had a great number of disciples. To attack all the sciences and to reject not only the evidence of the senses, but

\* Legimus omnes Crantoris, veteris Academici, de luctu: e enim non magnus, verum aureolus, &, ut Tuberoni Panætius præcipit, ad verbum ediscendus libellus. *Acad. Quæst. l. 4. n. 135.*

of reason, was certainly the boldest undertaking that could be formed in the republic of letters. To hope any success in it required all the merit of Arcefilaus. \* He was by nature of an happy, ready, warm genius: his person was very graceful, and his manner of speaking happy and delightful. The beauty of his aspect admirably seconded the charms of his utterance. Accordingly Lucullus †, who learnedly and solidly refutes the opinion of the Academics, says that nobody would have followed the opinion of Arcefilaus, if the eloquence and address of the teacher had not covered and made the manifest absurdity of his doctrine disappear.

Things much for his honour are related of his liberality. ‡ He delighted in doing good, and was not willing that it should be known. § Visiting a || friend who was sick, and wanted necessaries, but was ashamed to own it, he dexterously slid a purse full of money under his pillow, to spare his shame and delicacy, and that he might seem rather to have found than accepted it.

Authors do not give so favourable a testimony of the purity of his manners, and accuse him of the most infamous vices. And that ought not to appear strange in a philosopher, who, doubting every thing, doubted in consequence the existence of virtue and vice, and could not really admit any rule in respect to the duties of civil life. Diog.  
Laert.

\* Arcefilas floruit, tum acumine ingenii, tum admirabili quodam lepore dicendi. *Academ. Quæst. l. 4. n. 16.*

† Quis ista, tam apertè perspicuèque & perversa & falsa, secutus esset, nisi tanta in Arcefila—& copia rerum, & dicendi vis fuisset? *Ibid. n. 60.*

‡ Εὐεργετῆσαι πρόχειρον ἔστι, καὶ λαθεῖν τὴν χάριν ἀτυφώτατον. *Diog. Laert.*

§ Arcefilaus, ut aiunt, amico pauperi, & paupertatem suam dissimulanti, ægro autem, & ne hoc quidem contenti deesse sibi in sumptum ad necessarios usus, cùm clam succurrendum judicasset, pulvino ejus ignorantis sacculum subjecit, ut homo inutiliter verecundus, quod desiderabat, inveniret potius quàm acciperet. *Senec. de Benef. l. 2.*

|| *Seneca calls him Ctesibius: Plutarch gives him another name. De discrim. amic. & adulat. p. 63.*



## OF PHILOSOPHY.

He did not care to have any part in the public affairs. However, having been chosen to go to Demetrias, in order to negotiate for his country with Antigonus, he accepted the deputation, but returned without success.

In the torments of the \* gout, he affected the patience and insensibility of a Stoic. *Nothing from those has reached this*, said he, pointing to his feet and touching his † breast, to Carneades the Epicurean, who was much concerned to see him suffer in that manner. He was for making the other believe, that his soul was inaccessible to pain. Lofty language, with nothing real in it but pride!

Idem.

Arcefilaus flourished about the CXXth Olympiad, that is to say, about the year of the world 3704. He died of excessive drinking, which had made him delirious, at the age of 75.

Acad.

Quæst. l. 4.  
n. 16

His successors were Lacydes, Evander, and Ege-  
simus, which last was the master of Carneades.

## S E C T. III.

*Of the New Academy.*

## C A R N E A D E S.

CARNEADES of Cyrene instituted the third or new Academy, which, properly speaking, did not differ from the second. For, except some few palliatives, Carneades was as warm and zealous an advocate for uncertainty as Arcefilaus, † The difference between them, and the innovation

\* Is cùm arderet & podagræ doloribus, visitassetque hominem Carneades Epicuri perfamiliares, & tristis exiret: Mane, quæso, inquit, Carneade noster. Nihil illinc huc pervenit, ostendens pedes & pectus. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 94.

† The ancients believed the breast the seat of the soul and of courage.

‡ Non sumus ii quibus nihil verum esse videatur, sed ii qui omnibus veris falsa quædam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in iis nulla insit certa judicandi & assentiendi nota. Ex quo ex-  
istit

tion ascribed to him of whom we now speak, consist in his not denying with Arcefilaus, that there are truths; but he maintained that they were compounded with so many obscurities, or rather falsehoods, that it was not in our power to discern with certainty the true from the false. He went therefore so far as to admit that there were probable things, and agreed that probability might determine us to act, provided we did not pronounce absolutely upon any thing. Thus he seems to have retained at bottom the whole doctrine of Arcefilaus, but, out of policy, and to deprive his opponents of the more specious pretexts for declaiming against and ridiculing him, he granted degrees of probability, which ought to determine the wise man to chuse this or that in the conduct of civil life. He saw plainly, that without these concessions he should never be able to answer the strongest objections to his principle, nor to prove that it did not reduce man to inaction.

Carneades was the declared antagonist of the Stoics, and applied himself with extreme ardour to refute the works of Chrysippus, who had been for some time the support of the Porch. He so ardently desired to overcome him, that in preparing for the dispute he took hellebore, in order to have his mind the more free, and to give the fire of his imagination the greater force against him. Val. Max. l. 8 c. 7.

A maxim of morality, very admirable in a Pagan, is ascribed to him. “ If a person knew, says he, that an enemy, or another whose death would be for his advantage, would come to sit down upon the grass where the aspic lurked, it would be acting dishonestly not to give him notice of it, even though his silence might pass with im- Cic. de finib. l. 2. n. 59.

stit & illud, multa esse probabilia; quæ quanquam non perciperentur, tamen, quia visum haberent quendam insignem & illustrem, his sapientis vita regeretur. *De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 12.*

“ punity,

“punity, nobody being capable of making a crime  
“of it.”

But the conduct of these Pagans was always inconsistent with itself in some part or other. This grave philosopher was not ashamed of keeping a concubine in the house with him.

Plutarch has preserved a pretty reflection of Carneades, in his treatise upon the difference between a friend and a flatterer. He had cited the example of one who, in disputing the prize in the horse-race with Alexander, had suffered himself to be beaten designedly, for which that prince was very angry with him: he adds, “That the manage is the only  
“thing, in which young princes have nothing to  
“apprehend from flattery. Their other masters  
“frequently enough ascribe good qualities to them,  
“which they have not. But an horse, without regard to rich or poor, to subject or sovereign,  
“throws all the awkward riders that back him.”

The embassy of Carneades to Rome is much celebrated: I have spoken of it elsewhere.

Diog.  
Laert.  
Val. Max.  
l. 8. c. 7.

To conclude what relates to Carneades, I shall observe that he had not entirely neglected the Physics, but that he had made the Ethics his principal study. He was extremely laborious, and so avaricious of his time, that he took no care either to pare his nails or cut his hair. Solely devoted to meditation, he not only avoided feasts, but even forgot to eat at his own table, so that his servant, who was also his concubine, was obliged to put meat into his hand, and almost into his mouth.

Diog.  
Laert.

He was extremely afraid of dying. However, upon being informed that his antagonist Antipater, the Stoic philosopher, had poisoned himself, he assumed a short rally of courage against death, and cried out: *Then give me also—What?* asked somebody. *Mulled wine*, replied he, having bethought himself better of it. Diogenes Laertius ridiculed this pusillanimity, and reproaches him with having  
chosen



hosen rather to languish long of the pthific, than  
 o give himself death : for That the Pagans thought  
 glorious, though the wisest amongst them were of a  
 different opinion, and believed, that nature was the ta-  
 it law of God. He died in the fourth year of the A. M.  
 CLXIId Olympiad, aged fourscore and five years. 3871.

Ant. J. C.  
133.

## CLITOMACHUS.

CLITOMACHUS, the disciple of Carneades, was Plut. de  
 his successor. He was a Carthaginian, and called fort. Alex.  
 Asdrubal in the Punic tongue. He composed se- P. 328.  
 veral books, which were highly esteemed, and of Cic. l. 3.  
 which one was intitl'd *Consolation*. He address'd Tuscul.  
 it to his countrymen after the taking and destruc- Quæst.  
 tion of Carthage, to console them under the state n. 54.  
 of Captivity into which they were fallen.

## PHILO. ANTIOCHUS.

PHILO succeeded his master Clitomachus. He Tuscul.  
 taught both philosophy and rhetoric, but at diffe- Quæst.  
 rent times. Cicero frequented his school, and im- l. 2. n. 94  
 proved from his double lectures.

He was also the hearer of Antiochus, Philo's  
 disciple and successor. Antiochus was of Ascalon,  
 and is the last of the Academic philosophers men-  
 tioned in history. Cicero in his voyage to Athens Plut. in  
 was charmed with his calm, flowing, graceful Cic. p. 8624.  
 manner of speaking: but he did not approve the  
 change he had introduced in the method of Car-  
 neades. For Antiochus, after having long and  
 strenuously maintained the opinions of the new Aca-  
 demy, which rejected entirely the evidence of the  
 senses, and even of reason, and taught that there  
 was nothing certain, had on a sudden embraced  
 those of the old Academy; whether he had been  
 undeceived by the conviction of reason and the re-  
 port of his senses; or, as some believed, that jea-  
 lously and envy for the disciples of Clitomachus and  
 Philo had induced him to that alteration.

Lucullus,

Plut. in  
Lucull.  
p. 519,  
520.

Lucullus, the famous Roman, as well known for his wonderful taste for the sciences, as his great ability in war, had declared openly for the sect of the Academics, not of the new Academy, though then very flourishing from the writings of Carneades; which Philo explained, but for that of the old Academy, of which the school was held at that time by Antiochus. He had cultivated the friendship of that philosopher with extreme ardour: he gave him an apartment in his own house, and made use of his assistance in opposing the disciples of Philo, of whom Cicero was the chief.

## ARTICLE. V.

*Of the Peripatetics.*

## ARISTOTLE.

**I** Have already observed, that, after Plato's death, his disciples divided themselves into two sects: of which the one continued in the school where Plato had taught, and the other removed to the Lycæum, an agreeable place in the suburbs of Athens. Aristotle was the chief and founder of the latter.

Diog.  
Laert.  
A. M.  
3620.

He was a native of Stagira a city of Macedonia, and was born in the first year of the XCIXth Olympiad, forty years after Plato. His father Nicomachus was a physician, and flourished in the reign of Amyntas king of Macedonia, Philip's father.

At the age of seventeen he went to Athens, and entered himself in the school of Plato, under whom he studied twenty years. He was its greatest honour, and Plato used to call him the soul of his school. His passion for study was so great, that, in order to prevent sleep from engrossing him, he placed a basin of brass by his bed-side, and, when he lay down, extended one of his hands out of bed with an iron ball in it, that the noise, made by the falling

falling of the ball into the basin, when he fell asleep, might immediately wake him.

After Plato's death, which happened in the first year of the CVIIIth Olympiad, he retired to the A. M. house of Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus in Mysia, his 3656. fellow-pupil, who received him with joy, and loaded him with honours. Hermias having been condemned and put to death by the king of Persia, Aristotle married his sister Pithias, who was left without a fortune or protector.

It was at this time Philip chose him, to take care of the education of his son Alexander, who might then be about fourteen or fifteen years old. He had long before designed him that important Aul. Gell. and glorious employment. As soon as his son came l. 9. c. 3. into the world, he informed him of his birth by a letter, which does Philip no less honour than Aristotle, and which I am not afraid to repeat in this place. *You have this, says he, to inform you, that I have a son. I thank the Gods, not so much for having given him to me, as for having given him to me in the time of Aristotle. It is with reason I assure myself, that you will make him a successor worthy of us, and a king worthy of Macedonia.* Quintilian \* says expressly, that Aristotle taught Alexander the first rudiments of grammar. But, as that opinion admits of some difficulty, I do not entirely give into it. When the time for taking upon him the education of that prince arrived, Aristotle repaired to Macedonia. We have seen elsewhere the high value which Philip and Alexander expressed for his extraordinary merit.

After a residence of some years in that court, he obtained permission to retire. Callisthenes, who

\* An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo ejus ætatis Philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initia à perfectissimo quoque tractari, pertinere ad summam credidisset? *Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.*



had accompanied him thither, took his place, and was appointed to follow Alexander into the field. \* Aristotle, in whom profound judgment and a great knowledge of the world were united, upon the point of setting sail for Athens, advised Callisthenes not to forget one maxim of Xenophanes, which he judged absolutely necessary to persons who live in courts: "Speak seldom to the prince, or "speak so as to please him: that your silence may "either make you more secure, or your discourse "more agreeable to him." Callisthenes, who was naturally morose and austere, made but ill use of this counsel, which indeed at bottom favours more of the courtier than the philosopher.

Aristotle then, not having thought proper to follow his pupil to the war, to which his attachment to study made him very averse, after Alexander's departure returned to Athens. He was received there with all the marks of distinction due to a philosopher that excelled in so many respects. Xenocrates at that time presided in Plato's school in the Academy: Aristotle opened his in the Lycæum. The concourse of his hearers was extraordinary. In the morning his lessons were upon philosophy and in the afternoon upon rhetoric: he usually gave them walking, which occasioned his disciples to be called Peripatetics.

Cic. l. 3. de  
Orat. n.  
141.  
Quintil.  
l. 3. c. 1.

He taught only philosophy at first: but the great reputation of Isocrates, then ninety years old, who had applied himself solely to rhetoric, and with incredible success, excited his jealousy, and induced him also to teach it. It is perhaps to this noble emulation, allowable between the learned, when confined to imitating, or even surpassing what others have done well, that we owe Aristotle's Rhetoric.

\* Aristoteles, Callisthenem auditorem suum ad Alexandrum dimittens, monuit ut cum eo aut rarissimè, aut quàm jucundissimè loqueretur: quo scilicet apud regias aures vel silentio tutior, vel sermone esset acceptior. *Val. Max.* l. 7. c. 2.

the most complete and most esteemed work the ancients have left us upon that subject; unless we chuse rather to believe it composed for Alexander.

So shining a merit as Aristotle's did not fail to excite envy, which seldom spares great men. As long as Alexander lived, that conqueror's name suspended the effects of it, and awed the malignity of his enemies. But he was no sooner dead, than they rose up in concert against him, and swore his destruction. Eurymedon, priest of Ceres, lent them his assistance, and served their hatred with a zeal the more to be feared, as it was covered with the mask of religion. He cited Aristotle before the judges, and accused him of impiety, pretending that he taught doctrines contrary to the worship of the gods established at Athens. To prove this, he referred to Aristotle's hymn in honour of Hermias, and the inscription engraved upon his statue in the temple of Delphos. This inscription is still extant in Athenæus and Diogenes Laertius. It consists of four verses, which have no relation to sacred matters, and only to the king of Persia's perfidy to the unfortunate friend of Aristotle: neither is the hymn more criminal. Aristotle might perhaps have offended Eurymedon the priest of Ceres personally by some stroke of ridicule, a much more unpardonable crime than only attacking the gods. However it were, not believing it safe to wait the event of a trial, he quitted Athens, after having taught there thirteen years. He retired to Chalcis in the island of Eubœa, and pleaded his cause from thence in writing. Athenæus repeats some expressions in this apology, but does not warrant them positively to be Aristotle's. Somebody asking him the cause of his retiring, he answered, *that it was to prevent the Athenians from committing a second murder upon philosophy*, alluding to the death of Socrates.

Athen.

l. 15. p.

696, 697.

Ælian.

l. 3. c. 36.

It is pretended that he died of grief, because he could not discover the cause of the ebbing and flowing

flowing of the Euripus, and that he even threw himself headlong into that sea, saying, *Let the Euripus swallow me, since I can't comprehend it.* There were a multitude of other things in nature beyond his comprehension, and he was too wise to be mortified on that account. Others affirm with more probability, that he died of the cholic in the 63d year of his age, two years after Alexander's death. He was extremely honoured in Stagira the place of his nativity. It had been demolished by Philip king of Macedonia: but Alexander caused it to be rebuilt at the request of Aristotle. The inhabitants in gratitude for that benefit instituted a festival in honour of this philosopher, and when he died at Chalcis in Eubœa, transported his bones to their city, erected an altar upon his monument, gave the place the name of Aristotle, and afterwards held their assemblies in it. He left a son called Nicomachus, and a daughter who was married to a grandson of Demaratus king of Sparta.

Laert.  
A. M.  
3683.

Ammon.  
in vit.  
Aristot.

Vol. X.

I have related elsewhere the fate of his works, during how many years they remained buried and unknown, and in what manner they were at length brought to light and made public.

L. 10. c. 1.

Quintilian says, that he does not know which to admire most in Aristotle, his vast and profound erudition, the prodigious multitude of the writings which he left behind him, the beauty of his style, or the infinite variety of his works. One would

Lib. 12.  
c. ult.

believe, says he in another place, that he must have employed several ages in study, for comprehending within the extent of his knowledge all that regards not only philosophy and rhetoric, but even plants and animals, whose nature and properties he studied with infinite application. Alexander, to second his master's ardour in that learned labour, and to satisfy his own curiosity, gave orders for making exact inquiries through the whole extent of Greece and Asia in all that related to birds, fish, and animals

Plin. 1. 8.  
c. 16.



of every kind: an expence which amounted to above eight hundred talents, that is to say, eight hundred thousand crowns. Aristotle composed above fifty volumes upon this subject, of which only ten remain.

Athen. l.  
9. P. 898.

The university of Paris has thought very differently at different times of Aristotle's writings. In the council of Sens held at Paris in 1209, all his books were ordered to be burnt, and the reading, writing, or keeping them prohibited. The rigor of this prohibition was afterwards something abated. At length, by a decree of the two cardinals sent by pope Urban V. to Paris, in the year 1366, to regulate the university, all the books of Aristotle were allowed there; and that decree was renewed and confirmed in 1452 by cardinal Etouteville. From that time Aristotle's doctrine always prevailed in the university of Paris, till the happy discoveries of the last age opened the eyes of the learned, and made them embrace a system of philosophy highly different from the antient opinions of the schools. But, as Aristotle was formerly admired beyond due bounds, he is perhaps despised at present more than he deserves.

### *Aristotle's Successors.*

THEOPHRASTUS was of the island of Lesbos. Laert. Aristotle, before he retired to Chalcis, appointed him his successor. Accordingly he filled the place of his master with so much success and reputation, that the number of his hearers amounted to two thousand. Demetrius Phalereus was one of his disciples and intimate friends. The beauty and delicacy of his eloquence occasioned his being called Theophrastus, which signifies *divine speaker*.

Cicero \* relates a circumstance particular enough of him. He was cheápening something of an herb-woman, and was answered by her: *No, Mr. Stranger, you shall have it for no less.* He was extremely surpris'd and even concerned, that, after having pass'd great part of his life at Athens, the language of which he piqued himself upon speaking in perfection, he could however still be discovered for a stranger. But it was his attention itself to the purity of the Attic dialect carried too far, that occasioned his being known for such, as Quintilian observes. What a taste had Athens ever down to the meanest of the people!

He did not believe, any more than Aristotle, that it was possible to enjoy any real felicity here without the goods and conveniencies of life: in which, says Cicero †, he degraded virtue, and deprived her of her highest glory; reducing her to an incapacity of making man happy of herself. He ascribes supreme divinity, in one place, to intelligence, in another to heaven in general, and, after that, to the stars in particular.

He died at the age of eighty-five, exhausted with labour and study. He is said to have murmur'd against nature at his death, for granting a long life to stags and ravens, who can make no beneficial use of it; whilst she abridged that of man, whom a longer date would enable to attain a perfect knowledge in the sciences: a murmur equally trifling and unjust, and which the light of reason only

Lib. 1. de  
nat. deor.  
n. 35.

Tusc.  
Quæst. l. 3.  
n. 69.

\* Ut ego jam non mirer illud Theophrasto accidisse quod dicitur cum percontaretur ex univula quãdam, quanti aliquid venderet? & respondisset illa, atque addidisset: *Hospes, non pote minoris: tulisti cum molestè, se non effugere hospitis speciem, cum ætatem agere Athenis, optimeque loqueretur.* In Brut. n. 172.

Quomodo & illa Attica anus Theophrastum, hominem alioqui disertissimum, annotata unius affectatione verbi, hospitem dixit: ne aliò se id deprehendisset interrogata respondit quàm quòd nimirum Atticè loqueretur. Quintil. l. 8. c. 1.

† Spoliavit virtutem suo decore, imbecillamque reddidit, quod negavit in ea sola positum esse beatè vivere. Acad. Quæst. l. 1. n. 33.

has taught many of the antients to condemn, as a kind of rebellion against the divine will. *Quid enim est aliud gigantum more bellare cum diis, nisi naturæ repugnare?* Cic. de Senect. n. 5. Laert.

STRATO was of Lampsacus. He applied himself very much to physics, and little to ethics, which occasioned his being called the physician. He began to preside in his school in the third A. M. year of the CXXIII<sup>d</sup> Olympiad, and taught there 37<sup>18</sup>. eighteen years. He was the master of Ptolomy Philadelphus.

LYCON of Troas. He governed his school forty years.

ARISTON. CRITOLAUS. The latter was one of A. M. the three ambassadors sent by the Athenians to 37<sup>81</sup>. Rome in the second year of the CXL<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, and the 534<sup>th</sup> of Rome.

DIODORUS. This was one of the last eminent philosophers of the sect of the Peripatetics.

## ARTICLE VI.

*Of the sect of the Cynics.*

### ANTISTHENES.

THE Cynic philosophers owe their origin and institution to Antisthenes the disciple of Socrates. Laert. This sect derives its name from the place where its founder taught, called \**Cynosarges*, in the suburb of Athens. If this origin be true, at least, we cannot doubt but their immodesty and impudence might well have confirmed a name given them at first from the place. Antisthenes led a very hard life, and for his whole dress had only a tattered cloak. He had a long beard, a staff in his hand, and a wallet at his back. He reckoned nobility and riches as nothing, and made the su-

\* This word signifies a white, or a lively and swift dog.



preme good of man consist in virtue. When he was asked of what use philosophy had been to him, he answered, *To enable me to live with myself.*

### DI O G E N E S.

Laert.

DI O G E N E S was the most celebrated of his disciples. He was of Synope a city of Paphlagonia. He was expelled from thence for counterfeiting the coin. His father, who was a banker, was banished for the same crime. Diogenes, upon arriving at Athens, went to Antisthenes, who treated him with great contempt, and would have driven him away with his staff, because he was resolved to have no more disciples. Diogenes was not surprised, and bowing his head, "Strike, strike, said he, don't be afraid: you'll never find a stick hard enough to make me remove, so long as you speak." Antisthenes, overcome by the obstinacy of Diogenes, permitted him to be his disciple.

Diogenes made great improvements from his lessons, and perfectly imitated his manner of living.

His whole furniture consisted of a staff, a wallet and a wooden bowl. Seeing a little boy drink out of the hollow of his hand: *He shews me*, says he *that I have still something superfluous*, and broke his bowl. He always went barefoot; without ever wearing sandals, not even when the earth was covered with snow. A tub served him for a lodging which he rolled before him wherever he went, and had no other habitation. Every body knows what he said to Alexander, who made him a visit at Corinth; and the celebrated saying of that prince *If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.* \* Juvenal, accordingly, finds the inhabitant of the tub greater and more happy than the conqueror of the universe. The one desired nothing, and the who

\* Sensit Alexander, testa cum vidit in illa  
Magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic, qui  
Nil cuperet, quam qui totum sibi posceret orbem,

world was too little for the other. \* Seneca therefore is not mistaken, when he says that Alexander, the proudest of mankind, who believed that every thing ought to tremble before him, was forced that day to submit to Diogenes, having found a man in him, from whom he could take, and to whom he could give, nothing.

For the rest, we are not to believe, that he was the more humble for his ragged cloak, bag, and tub. He had as much vanity in those things, as Ælian. l. 3. c. 29. Alexander could have from the conquest of the whole earth. One day entering Plato's house, which was furnished magnificently enough, he trampled a Diog. Laert. fine carpet under his feet, saying, *I tread upon the pride of Plato.* Yes, replied the latter, *but with another kind of pride.*

He had a supreme contempt for all human race. Walking at noon with a lighted lanthorn in his hand, somebody asked him what he sought? *I am seeking a man,* replied he.

Upon seeing a slave put on a person's shoes: *You'll not be satisfied,* says he, *till he wipes your nose for you. Of what use are your hands to you?*

Another time seeing the judges carrying a man to be punished for stealing a little vial out of the public treasury: *See,* said he, *the great thieves have caught a little one!*

The relations of a young man, whom they brought to him to be his disciple, said all the good things of him imaginable: that he was prudent, of good morals, and knew a great deal. Diogenes heard them very calmly: *As he is so accomplished,* said he, *he has no occasion for me.*

He was accused of speaking and thinking ill of De nat. deor. l. 3. n. 83. the divinity. He said that the uninterrupted good fortune of Harpalus, who generally passed for a

\* Quidni victus sit illo die, qui homo, supra mensuram humanæ superbæ tumens, vidit aliquem cui nec dare quidquam posset, nec eripere. *Senec. de Benef. l. 5. c. 6.*

thief and a robber, was a testimony against the gods.

Amongst excellent maxims of morality, he held some very pernicious opinions. He regarded chastity and modesty as weakness, and was not afraid to act openly with an impudence contrary to all sense of decency and natural shame. And indeed the character of the Cynics was to overdo every thing in respect to manners, and to render virtue itself hateful, if possible, by the excesses and inconsistencies to which they carried it :

Infani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,  
Ultra, quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.

*Hor. Ep. 6. l. 1.*

*More than enough, in virtue's self is bad ;  
Just's then unjust ; the wiseman grows the mad.*

His historian gives him most persuasive eloquence of which he relates wonderful effects. Onesicritus had sent one of his sons to Athens. That young man, having heard some of Diogenes's lectures, settled in that city. His elder brother soon after died the same. Onesicritus himself, having had the curiosity to hear that philosopher, became his disciple. Such attractions had the eloquence of Diogenes. This Onesicritus was a person of importance. He was in great favour with Alexander, followed him in his wars, in which he had employments of distinction, and composed an history that contained the beginning of Alexander's life. Phocion, still more illustrious than him, was also the disciple of Diogenes, as was Stilpon of Mægara.

Diog. La-  
ert.

Plut. in  
Alex. p.  
701.

Diog.  
Laert.

Diogenes in going to the island of Egina was taken by pirates, who carried him to Crete, where they exposed him to sale. When he was asked by the cryer, *What he could do ?* he answered, *Command men*, and bade him say, *Will any body buy a master ?* A Corinthian called Xeniadès bought him, and carried him to Corinth, where he made him preceptor



ceptor to his sons. He confided also the whole care of his house to him. Diogenes acquitted himself so well of those employments, that Xenocrates was incessantly saying every-where, *A good genius has taken up his abode in my house.* The friends of Diogenes would have ransomed him: No, said he, *that's foolish. Lions are not the slaves of those that feed them, but those that feed them their servants.* He educated the children of Xenocrates very well, and acquired their affection to a great degree. He grew old in this house, and some say he died there.

He ordered at his death that his body should be left upon the earth without interment. “How! said his friends, would you lie exposed to the birds and beasts? No, replied he, put my stick by me, that I may drive them away. And how will you do that, said they, when you have no sense? What then does it signify, answered the Cynic, whether I am eaten or not by the birds and beasts, as I shall have no sense of it?”

Tusc.

Quæst.

l. i. n. 104.

No regard was had to the great indifference of Diogenes about interment. He was buried magnificently near the gate next the Isthmus. A column was erected near his tomb, on which a dog of Parian marble was placed.

He died at almost fourscore and ten years of age, according to some upon the same day as Alexander, but others make him survive that prince some years.

## C R A T E S.

CRATES the Cynic was one of the principal disciples of Diogenes. He was a Theban of a very considerable family, and of great fortune. He sold his whole patrimony for more than two hundred talents, which he put into the hands of a banker, and desired him to give them to his children, in case they proved fools; but, if they had elevation of mind enough to be philosophers, he directed him to distribute the money amongst the citizens of

Diog.

Laert.

Two hundred thousand crowns.

Thebes, because philosophers wanted nothing: always excess and caprice even in actions laudable in themselves.

Hipparchia, the sister of the orator Metrocles, charmed with the freedom of Crates's manners, was absolutely determined to marry him, notwithstanding the opposition of all her relations. Crates, to whom they applied themselves, did all he could on his side to make her disgust this marriage. Having stript himself before her to shew her his hunch-back and ill-made body in the worst light, and throwing his cloak, bag, and staff, upon the ground: *There* says he, *are all my riches, and my wife must expect no other jointure from me.* She persisted in her resolution, married hunch-back, dressed herself like a Cynic, and became still more free and impudent than her husband.

\* Impudence was the prevailing character of these philosophers. They reproached others with their faults without any reserve, and even added an air of insolence and contempt to their reproaches. This according to some, occasioned their being called Cynics, because they were biting, and barked at all the world like dogs; and because they were ashamed of nothing, and held that every thing might be done openly without shame or reserve.

A. M.  
3676.

Crates flourished at Thebes about the CXIII Olympiad, and excelled all the Cynics of his time. He was the master of Zeno, the founder of the famous sect of the Stoics.

## ARTICLE VII.

*Of the Stoics.*

ZENO.

Diog.  
Laert.

**Z**ENO was of Citium in the island of Cyprus. On his return from buying purple in Phœni-

\* They called immodesty nature; and so it is, the nature of brute not man, whose Reason makes him naturally ashamed of the obscene and indecent.

dia, for he applied himself first to commerce, he was cast away in the port of Pyræus. He was much afflicted with his loss, and removed to Athens, where he went into a bookseller's shop, and took up a book of Xenophon's, the reading of which gave him infinite pleasure, and made him forget his misfortune. He asked the bookseller, where that sort of people, of whom Xenophon spoke, were to be found. Crates the Cynic happened to pass by at that instant. The bookseller pointed him out to Zeno, and advised him to follow him. From that day he commenced his disciple; at which time he was thirty years of age. The morality of the Cynics <sup>A. M.</sup> highly pleased him, but he could not relish their <sup>3672.</sup> immodesty and impudence.

After having studied ten years under Crates, and passed ten more in the houses of Stilpon of Mægara, Xenocrates, and Polemon, he instituted a new sect <sup>A. M.</sup> at Athens. His reputation immediately spread <sup>3692.</sup> throughout Greece. In a short time he became the most distinguished philosopher in the country. As he usually taught in a porch, his followers were called *Stoics*, from the Greek word *στοά*, which signifies a porch or portico.

Zeno lived to the age of ninety-eight, without <sup>Laert.</sup> ever experiencing any disorder of body. He taught forty-eight years successively, and lived sixty-eight from his first applying to philosophy under Crates the Cynic. Eusebius dates his death at the CXXIXth <sup>A. M.</sup> Olympiad, which was much regretted. When An- <sup>3743.</sup> tigonus king of Macedonia received news of it, he was sensibly afflicted. The Athenians caused a tomb to be erected for him in the suburb of Cericæ, and by a public decree (wherein he was praised as a philosopher who had perpetually excited the youth under his discipline to virtue, and who had always led a life conformable to the precepts he taught) they gave him a crown of gold, and caused extraordinary honours to be paid to his memory :



memory: " In order, says the decree, that all the  
 " world may know, that the Athenians are studious  
 " to honour persons of distinguished merit, both  
 " during their lives and after their deaths." No-  
 thing does a people more honour than such noble  
 and generous sentiments, which arise from an high  
 esteem for knowledge and virtue.

I have already observed elsewhere that a neigh-  
 bouring nation, I mean England, distinguished  
 itself by its esteem for great men of this kind, and  
 by the gratitude it expresses for those who have  
 exalted the glory of their country.

### LEUCIPPUS.

LEUCIPPUS is one of the most famous of Ze-  
 no's disciples. Authors do not agree about the  
 place of his birth. He is believed the inventor of  
 the atomical system. Posidonius ascribes it to one  
 Moschus of Phœnicia, who, according to Strabo,  
 lived before the Trojan war: but the most learned  
 persons give Leucippus the honour of it. Epicu-  
 rus is blamed for not owning his improvement from  
 the inventions of this philosopher, and reproached  
 with having only reformed the system of Democri-  
 tus in some places, of which Leucippus was the  
 first author.

Strab. l. 16.  
 P. 557.

Cic. de  
 Nat. Deor.  
 l. 1. n. 72,  
 73.

### CLEANTHES.

CLEANTHES was of Assos in Troas. He was  
 worth but four drachma's, that is to say, thirty  
 pence, when he came to Athens. He recommended  
 himself highly by the courageous patience, with  
 which he supported the hardest and most painful la-  
 bours. He passed almost the whole night in draw-  
 ing water for a gardener, in order to gain subsis-  
 tence, and to enable himself, during the day, to ap-  
 ply to the study of philosophy. Being cited before  
 the judges of the Areopagus, to give an account,  
 according to one of Solon's laws, how he lived, he  
 pro-

Laert.

produced the gardener as an evidence, and without doubt his own hands, hard and callous with labour. The judges, in a transport of admiration, ordered him ten minæ, about thirty pounds, out of the public treasury. Zeno forbade him to accept of them, so much was poverty in honour with these philosophers! He filled the chair of the Porch with great reputation.

His genius was naturally heavy and slow; but he overcame that defect by tenacious application to study. Eloquence was not his talent. \* He however thought fit to compose a Rhetoric, as well as Chrysippus, of whom we shall soon speak; but both with such bad success, that, if we may believe Cicero, who certainly was a good judge in this case, those works were fitter to make a man mute than a speaker.

### CHRYSIPPUS.

CHRYSIPPUS was of Soli, a city of Cilicia. His Laert. genius was very subtle, and proper for logical disquisitions, in which he exercised himself much, and upon which he wrote many tracts. Diogenes Laertius makes them amount to above three hundred. It is said that the occasion of his writing abundance was his envy of Epicurus, who had composed more books than any other philosopher: but he never came up to that rival. His works were little laboured, and by necessary consequence little correct, full of tedious repetitions, and often even contradictions. It was the common fault of the Stoics to introduce abundance of subtilty and dryness into their disquisitions either by word of mouth or in writing. They seem as carefully to have avoided all beauty of stile, as depravity of

\* Scriptit artem rhetoricam Cleanthes, Chrysippus etiam, sed hic, ut, si quis obmutescere concupierit, nihil aliud legere debeat. *De Finib. l. 4. n. 7.*

morals. \* Cicero did not blame them much for wanting a talent entirely foreign to their profession and not absolutely necessary to it. † *If a philosopher, says he, have eloquence, I do not like him the worse for it : if not, I make it no crime in him.* ‡ He was satisfied if they were clear and intelligible ; so which he valued Epicurus.

Quintilian often cites with praise a work written by Chrysippus upon the education of children.

Academ.  
l. 4. n. 7.

He associated himself for some time with the Academics, maintaining after their manner both sides of a question. The Stoics complained, that Chrysippus had collected so many and so strong arguments for the system of the Academics, that he could not afterwards refute them himself, which had supplied Carneades their antagonist with arms against them.

Plut. contra Stoic.  
p. 1074,  
1075.  
Laert.

His doctrine, in many points, did no honour to his sect, and could only disgrace it. He believed the gods perishable, and maintained that they would actually perish in the general conflagration. He allowed the most notorious and most abominable incests, and admitted the community of wives amongst Sages. He composed several writings full of the most horrid obscenities. Such was the § philosopher, who passed for the most solid support of the Porch, that is to say, of the most severe sect of the Pagan world.

It must appear astonishing after this, that || Seneca should praise this philosopher, whom he joins with

\* Videmus iisdem de rebus jejune quosdam & exiliter, ut eum quem acutissimum ferunt, Chrysippum disputavisse ; neque ob eam rem philosophiæ non satisfacisse, quod non habuerunt hanc dicendæ ex arte alienam facultatem. *De Orat. l. 1. n. 49.*

† A philosopho, si afferat eloquentiam, non asperner : si non habeat, non admodum flagitem. *De Finib. l. 1. n. 15.*

‡ Oratio me istius philosophi non offendit. Nam & complexitum verbis quod vult, & dicit plane quod intelligam. *Ibid.*

§ Fulcire putatur porticum Stoicorum. *Academ. 4, 75.*

|| Nos certe sumus, qui dicimus, § & Zenonem & Chrysippum majora egisse, quam si duxissent exercitus, gessissent honores, legentulissent



with Zeno, in the most magnificent terms. He goes so far as to say of both the one and the other, that they had done greater things in their closets, than if they had commanded armies, filled the first offices of a state, and instituted wise laws; and he adds, that he considers them, not as the legislators of a single city, but of all mankind.

Chrysippus died in the CXLIII<sup>d</sup> Olympiad. A. A. M. A tomb was erected for him amongst those of the most illustrious Athenians. His statue was to be seen in the suburb of Ceramica. <sup>3793.</sup>

### DI O G E N E S *the Babylonian.*

DI O G E N E S the Babylonian was so called, because his country, Seleucia, was in the neighbourhood of Babylon. He was one of the three philosophers deputed by Athens to the Romans.

He shewed great moderation and tranquillity of soul upon an occasion capable of moving the calmest and most patient of men. \* He was expatiating upon anger. A young man of great impudence and presumption spit in his face, probably to try whether he practised himself the doctrine he taught others. The philosopher, without seeming moved, or raising his voice, said coldly, *I am not angry: but however I doubt whether I ought not to be so.* Did such a doubt suit the apathy of a Stoic?

### A N T I P A T E R.

ANTIPATER was of Sidon. He is often mentioned in the fourth book of Academical Questions as one of the most learned and esteemed of the Stoics. He was the disciple of Diogenes the Babylonian, and Posidonius was his.

tulissent, quas, non uni civitati, sed toti humano generi tulerunt. *Senec. de Ot. sap. c. 32.*

\* Ei de ira cum maximè differenti adolescens protervus inquit. Tulit hoc ille leniter ac sapienter. Non quidem, inquit, irascor: sed dubito tamen an irasci oporteat. *Senec de ira, l. 3. c. 38.*

## PANÆTIUS.

PANÆTIUS was, without contradiction, one of the most famous philosophers of the Stoic sect. He was a Rhodian, and his ancestors had commanded the armies of that state. We may date his birth about the middle of the CXLVIIIth Olympiad.

He perfectly answered the peculiar care that had been taken of his education, and devoted himself wholly to the study of philosophy. Inclination, perhaps prejudice, determined him in favour of the Stoic sect, at that time in the highest credit. Antipater of Tarsus was his master. He heard him as a man that understood the Rights of reason; and, notwithstanding the blind deference with which the Stoics received the decisions of the founders of the Porch, Panætius abandoned those without scruple, which did not appear sufficiently established.

To satisfy the desire of knowledge, that was his darling passion, he quitted Rhodes, without regard to the advantages for which the greatness of his birth seemed to design him. The most distinguished persons in every kind of literature usually assembled at Athens, and the Stoics had a famous school there. Panætius frequented it with assiduity, and at length supported its reputation with dignity. The Athenians resolved to make him their own, and offered him the freedom of their city; for which he returned them his thanks. "A modest man," said he to them in respect to Proclus, "ought to content himself with one country:" in which he imitated Zeno, who, lest it might be injurious to his own citizens, would not accept the same favour.

The fame of Panætius soon extended itself beyond the seas. The sciences had for some time made considerable progress at Rome. The Great cultivated them in emulation of each other, and those whom their birth and capacity had placed at the

Strab. l. 14.  
P. 655.  
A. M. 3814.  
Divin. l. 1.  
n. 6.  
Plut. de Stoic. repugn. p. 1034.  
Procl. in Hesiod. p. 151.

the head of the public affairs, made it their honour to protect them to the utmost. Such was the state of things when Panætius came to Rome. He was ardently desired there. The young nobility flew to hear him; and the Scipio's and the Lælii were of the number of his disciples. A tender friendship united them from thenceforth, and Panætius, as many writers inform us, attended Scipio in his several expeditions. To make him attend, that illustrious Roman, on a signal occasion, gave him the most grateful marks of his confidence. \* Panætius was the only one upon whom he cast his eyes, when the senate appointed him ambassador to the nations and kings of the East in alliance with the commonwealth. The credit of Panætius with Scipio was not useless to the Rhodians, and was often employed for them with success.

Plut. in  
Moral.  
p. 814.

The year of his death is not precisely known. Cicero tells us, that Panætius lived thirty years after having published his treatise upon the duties of man, which Cicero has diffused into his: but it is not known at what time that treatise appeared. It is probable that he published it in the flower of his age. The value Cicero set on it, and the use he made of it, are good proofs of the excellency of his work, of which therefore we should regret the loss. He composed abundance of others. The reader may see an account of them in the memoir of the Abbé Sevin upon the life of Panætius, from which I have extracted all I have said of them in this place.

Tom. X.  
des Mem.  
de l'Acad.  
des Belles  
Lettres.

To the praise of the Stoics it must be confessed, that, less intent than other philosophers upon frivolous and often dangerous speculations, they devoted their studies to the clearing up of those great principles of morality, which are the firmest supports

\* P. Africani historiæ loquuntur, in legatione illa nobili quam obiit, Panætium unum omnino comitem fuisse. Acad. Quæst. 4. n. 5.



of society : \* but the dryness and stiffness that prevailed in their writings, as well as in their manners, disgusted most of their readers, and abundantly lessened their utility. The example of Cleanthes and Chrysippus, the founders of the Porch did not mislead Panætius. Attentive to the good of the public, and that the useful generally is not current without the agreeable, he united the solidity of argument with the beauty and elegance of style and diffused into his works all the graces and ornaments of which they were susceptible.

### POSIDONIUS.

POSIDONIUS was of Apamea in Syria, but he passed the greatest part of his life at Rhodes, where he taught philosophy with much reputation, and was employed in the affairs of the public with the same success.

Pompey, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, touched at Rhodes in order to see him. He found him sick. We shall see in the sequel, in what manner this visit passed.

### EPICTETUS.

I should injure the sect of the Stoics, if in the number of its followers I omitted Epictetus, the man perhaps, of all these philosophers, who did most honour by the sublimity of his sentiments, and the regularity of his life.

Epictetus was born at Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia near Laodicea. The meanness of his extraction has prevented us from the knowledge of his parents. He was the slave of one Epaphroditus, whom Suidas calls *one of Nero's guards* ; from whence he took his name Epictetus, which signi-

\* Stoici horridiores evadunt, asperiores, duriores & oratione moribus. Quam illorum tristitiam atque asperitatem fugiens Panætius, nec acerbicatem sententiarum, nec differendi spinas probavit fuitque in altero genere mitior, in altero illustrior. *De Finib.* l. 4. n. 78, 79.

was *bought servant* or *slave*. It is neither said by *ἐμμένειν*.  
 what accident he was brought to Rome, nor how  
 he came to be sold to Epaphroditus: it is only  
 known that he was the latter's slave. Epictetus  
 was apparently made free. He always was a fol-  
 lower of the Stoic philosophy, which was at that  
 time the most perfect and the most severe sect.

He lived at Rome till the edict of Domitian, by A. D. 96.  
 which all philosophers were banished from thence.

If we may believe Quintilian, many of them con-  
 cealed great vices under so fair a name, and had  
 acquired the reputation of philosophers, not by  
 their virtue and knowledge, but by a grave and  
 severe countenance, and a singularity of dress and  
 behaviour, which served as a mask for very corrupt  
 manners. Quintilian is perhaps a little excessive in  
 his description, with the view of pleasing the Em-  
 peror: but it is certain, that it could in no manner  
 be applied to Epictetus.

Upon quitting Rome, he went to settle at Nico-  
 polis, a considerable city of Epirus, where he lived  
 many years, always in great poverty, but highly  
 honoured and esteemed. He returned afterwards  
 to Rome in the reign of Adrian, with whom he  
 was in great consideration. Neither the time, place,  
 or any other circumstances of his death are men-  
 tioned: he died at a sufficiently great age.

He confined all his philosophy to suffering ill  
 patiently, and moderation in pleasure, which he  
 expressed by the two Greek words, *ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι*,  
*endure & abstain*.

Celsus, who wrote against the Christians, says, *Orig. in*  
 that, upon his master's bending his leg with great *Cels. l. 7.*  
 violence, he told him without emotion, and in a  
 laughing manner: *Why you'll break my leg*. And,

\* *Nostros temporibus sub hoc nomine maxima in plerisque vitia  
 tuerunt. Non enim virtute ac studiis, ut haberentur philosophi,  
 laborabant; sed vultum, & tristitiam, & dissentientem à cæteris ha-  
 bitum pessimis moribus prætendebant. Quintil. l. 1. in Præam.*

as it happened so, he continued in the same tone  
*Did not I tell you, that you'd break it?*

Lucian.  
 adverb.  
 indoct.  
 P. 548.

Lucian ridicules a man, who bought Epictetus lamp at a great \* price, though only an earthen one; as if he had imagined that by using it it should become as wise as that admirable and venerable old man.

Epictetus had composed many works, of which only his *Enchiridion* or *Manual* remain. But Arrian, his disciple, has written a great work, which, he pretends, consists solely of what he had heard him say, and which he had collected, as near as possible, in his own terms. Of the eight books which formed this work, we have only four.

Stobæus has preserved us some sentences of the philosopher's, which had escaped the diligence of his disciple. I shall cite only two of them in this place:

“ To be rich does not depend on thee, but  
 “ be happy does. Riches themselves are not  
 “ ways a good, and certainly are always of short  
 “ duration; but the happiness, derived from wisdom,  
 “ dom, endures for ever.

“ When thou seest a viper or a serpent in a basket  
 “ of gold, dost thou esteem it the more, and hasten  
 “ thou not always the same horror for it on account  
 “ count of its venomous nature? Have the same fear  
 “ for the wicked man, when thou seest him surrounded  
 “ rounded with splendor and riches.

“ The sun does not stay to be implored to impart  
 “ part his light and heat. By his example do thou  
 “ the good thou canst, without staying till it be  
 “ asked of thee.”

The following prayer Epictetus desired to make at his death, which I take from Arrian: “

“ Lord, have I violated your commandments?  
 “ Have I abused the gifts you have conferred upon me?

\* Three thousand drachma's, about 75l.



" on me? Have I not submitted my senses, wishes,  
 " and opinions, to you? Have I ever complained  
 " of you? Have I accused your providence? I  
 " have been sick, because it was your will; and it  
 " was also mine. It was your will that I should  
 " be poor, and I was contented with poverty. I  
 " have been of the meanest of the people, because  
 " it was your will; and did I ever desire to be  
 " otherwise? Was I ever afflicted for my condi-  
 " tion? Have you ever surprised me murmuring  
 " and dejected? I am still entirely ready to under-  
 " go whatever you shall please to ordain for me.  
 " The least sign from you is an inviolable order for  
 " me. It is your will that I should quit this magnifi-  
 " cent scene: I go, with a thousand most humble  
 " thanks, that you have vouchsafed to admit me  
 " to see your works, and to display to my eyes the  
 " admirable order, with which you govern this  
 " universe." Though it be easy to observe in this  
 prayer several strokes borrowed from Christianity,  
 which at that time began to cast a great light, we  
 however perceive in it a man well satisfied with him-  
 self, and who, by his frequent interrogations, seems  
 to defy the Divinity himself to find any fault in  
 him. A sentiment and prayer truly worthy of a  
 Stoic, all proud of his pretended virtue! St. Paul,  
 who abounded so much in good works, did not 1 Cor. iv.  
 speak such language. *I judge not mine own self,* 3, 4.  
 said he. *For I know nothing by myself,* (or as the  
 French expresses it better, *though my conscience re-  
 proaches me with nothing*) yet am I not hereby justified:  
*but he that judge thme is the Lord.* For the rest, this  
 prayer, all defective as it is, will condemn abun-  
 dantly of Christians. For it shews us, that a per-  
 fect obedience, an entire devotion, and total resig-  
 nation to the will of God, were considered by the  
 Pagans themselves, as the indispensable duties of  
 creatures to him from whom they hold their being.  
 This philosopher knew the terms of duties and

virtues, but had the misfortune to be ignorant of the principle of them.

Epictetus was at Rome at the time when St. Paul made so many conversions there, and when Christianity almost at its birth shone out with so much lustre in the unexampled constancy of the Faithful. But far, from improving from so radiant a light, he blasphemed against the faith of the primitive Christians, and the heroic courage of the martyrs. In the fourth chapter of the seventh book of Arrian, after having shewn, that a man conscious of his liberty, and convinced that nothing can hurt him, because he has God for his deliverer fears neither the guards nor swords of tyrants Epictetus adds: PHRENZY AND CUSTOM *have been capable of inducing some to despise them, as the \* Galileans; and shall not reason and demonstration produce the same effect?* Nothing was more contrary to the doctrine of the Gospel than the pride of the Stoics.

\* *So the Christians were called.*

## CHAPTER III.

*History of the philosophers of the Italic sect.*

I Have already said, that the Italic sect was so called, because it was instituted by Pythagoras in that part of Italy called Græcia Magna.

I shall divide this chapter into two articles. In the first I shall relate the life of Pythagoras, and that of Empedocles the most famous of his disciples. In the second I shall treat on the division of the Italic into four other sects.

## ARTICLE I.

## PYTHAGORAS.

THE most common opinion is that Pythagoras Diog. Laert. was of Samos, and son of Mnesarchus the sculptor. He was at first the disciple of Pherecides, who is ranked in the number of the seven sages. After the death of his master, as he had an extraordinary desire of learning and of knowing the manners of strangers, he abandoned his country, and all he had, for the sake of travelling.

He remained a considerable time in Egypt, to converse there with the priests, and to learn from them whatever was most occult in the mysteries of their religion and learning. Polycrates wrote in his favour to Amasis king of Egypt, in order that he might treat him with distinction. Pythagoras went A. M. afterwards into the country of the Chaldeans, to acquire the learning of the Magi. Some imagine that 3440. Ant. J. C. 564. he might have seen Ezekiel and Daniel, and have improved from their lessons at Babylon. After having travelled into different parts of the East, he went to Crete, where he contracted a great intimacy



with the wise Epimenides. And at last, after having enriched himself with different knowledge in the several countries where he had been, he returned to Samos, laden with the precious spoils which had been the motives, and were the fruits of his travels.

His grief to see his country oppressed by the tyranny of Polycrates made him resolve on voluntary banishment. He went into that part of Italy which was called Great Greece, and settled at Crotona in the house of Milo, the famous boxer, where he taught philosophy. It is from thence that the Sect, of which he was author, was called the Italic sect.

Tuscul.  
Quæst.  
l. 5. n. 9.

Before him, as I have observed already, those who excelled in the knowledge of nature, and had acquired reputation by a virtuous and regular life, were called sages, σοφοί. That name appearing too proud to him, he assumed another, which implied, that he did not ascribe the possession of wisdom to himself, but only the desire of possessing it. This was *Philosopher*, that is to say, lover of wisdom.

Tuscul.  
Quæst.  
l. 1. n. 38.  
A. M.  
3472.  
Tuscul.  
Quæst. l. 4.  
n. 3.

The reputation of Pythagoras soon spread over all Italy, and brought a great number of disciples to hear him. Some make Numa of this number who was elected king of Rome: but they mistake Pythagoras flourished in the time of Tarquin the last king of the Romans, that is, in the 220th year of Rome; or, according to Livy, in the reign of Servius Tullius. The \* error of those who make him king Numa's cotemporary is glorious for them both. For they had not fallen into it, if they had not believed that Numa could not have shewn so much ability and wisdom in his government, if he had not been the disciple of Pythagoras. Certain it is that his reputation afterwards became very great at Rome. The Romans must have conceived a very high idea of him, as, upon being commanded by an

Plut. in  
Num.  
p. 65.  
Plin. l. 34.  
c. 6.

\* Ovid has followed this false tradition in the fifteenth book of the *Metamorphoses*.

oracle

oracle during the war with the Samnites to erect two statues, the one to the bravest, and the other to the wisest, of the Greeks, they set up those of Alcibiades and Pythagoras. Pliny was much surprised that they chose either of them.

He made his scholars undergo a severe noviciate of silence for at least two years, and \* extended it to five with those in whom he discerned a too great itch for talking.

His disciples were divided into two classes. The Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. one were simple hearers, hearkening to and receiving what was taught them, without demanding the reasons of it, of which it was supposed they were ἀκροατοί. not yet capable. The others, as more formed and μαθηματικοί. intelligent, were admitted to propose their difficulties, to penetrate deeper into the principles of philosophy, and to learn the reasons of all that was taught them.

Pythagoras considered geometry and arithmetic, as absolutely necessary to enlarge the minds of young people, and to prepare them for the study of great truths. He also set great value upon, and made great use of, music, to which he referred every thing; † pretending that the world was formed by a kind of harmony imitated afterwards by the lyre; and he annexed peculiar sounds to the motion of the celestial spheres which revolve over our heads. It is said that it was the ‡ custom of the Pythagoreans, on rising from bed, to awaken the mind with the sound of the lyre, in order to make themselves

\* Loquaciores enimvero fermè in quinquennium, velut in exilium vocis, mittebantur. *Apul. in Florid.*

† Pythagoras atque eum secuti, acceptam sine dubio antiquitus opinionem vulgaverunt, mundum ipsum ea ratione esse compositum, quam postea sit lyra imitata. Nec illa modò contenti dissimilium concordia, quam vocant ἀρμονίαν, sonum quoque his motibus dedere. *Quintil. l. 1. c. 10.*

‡ Pythagoreis certè moris fuit, & cùm evigilassent, animos ad lyram excitare, quo essent ad agendum erectiores; & cùm somnum peterent, ad eandem priùs lenire mentem, ut, si quid fuisset turbidiorum cogitationum, componerent. *Quintil. l. 9. c. 4.*

more fit for action : and, before going to bed, they resumed their lyre, which no doubt they touched to a softer strain, in order to prepare themselves for sleep, by calming whatever might remain of the tumultuous thoughts of the day.

Plut. de  
adul. &  
amic. discr.  
p. 70.

Pythagoras had a great ascendant over the minds of his scholars. His having advanced any thing sufficed for them to be convinced of it without farther proof : from whence came the famous saying *αὐτὸς ἔφη, ipse dixit, he (the master) has said it.* A reprimand which he gave one of his scholars in the presence of all the rest, so sensibly affected him, that he could not survive it, and killed himself. From thenceforth Pythagoras, instructed and infinitely afflicted by so mournful an example, never rebuked any body except in private.

Justin.  
l. 20. c. 4.

His doctrine, and still more his example, produced a wonderful change in Italy, and especially at Crotona, where he principally resided. Justin describes at large the reformation which he introduced into that city. “ He came, says he, to  
“ Crotona, and, having found the inhabitants in general abandoned to luxury and debauch, he conciliated them at length by his authority to the  
“ rules of a prudent frugality. He continually  
“ praised virtue, and inculcated its beauty and advantages. He represented in the most lively  
“ terms the shame of intemperance, and enumerated the states which had been ruined in consequence of vicious excesses. His discourse made  
“ such an impression on the people, and occasioned so general a change in the city, that it  
“ seemed a quite different place, and retained no  
“ marks of the antient Crotona. He spoke to the  
“ women separately from the men, and the children from their fathers and mothers. To the  
“ wives he recommended the virtues of their sex, chastity and submission to their husbands ; to  
“ the youth, profound respect for their fathers and  
“ mothers,



“ mothers, and a taste for study and the sciences.  
 “ \* He insisted principally upon frugality the mo-  
 “ ther of all virtues; and prevailed upon the la-  
 “ dies to renounce the fine cloaths, and rich orna-  
 “ ments, which they thought essential to their rank,  
 “ but which he considered as the food of luxury  
 “ and vice. These they sacrificed to the principal  
 “ divinity of the place, which was Juno; shewing  
 “ by so generous a conduct they were entirely con-  
 “ vinced, that the true ornament of ladies was  
 “ unspotted virtue, and not magnificence of dress.  
 “ The reformation which the warm exhortations  
 “ of Pythagoras produced amongst the youth, may  
 “ be judged, adds the historian, from their success  
 “ with the ladies, who generally adhere to their  
 “ ornaments and jewels with almost invincible pas-  
 “ sion. *In juventute quoque quantum profligatum sit,*  
 “ *victi feminarum contumaces animi manifestant.*”

This last reflection, which naturally enough ex-  
 presses the character of the ladies, is not made only  
 by Justin. St. Jerom also observes, † *that the sex*  
*are naturally fond of ornaments.* “ We know ladies,  
 “ says he, of distinguished chastity, who love to  
 “ adorn their persons, not for the sake of pleasing  
 “ any man, but to please themselves.” And he  
 adds elsewhere, that some of them carry that taste  
 to an excess which knows no bounds, and will  
 hearken to no reason: *Ad quæ ardent & insaniant*  
*studia matronarum.*

Hieron.  
 Ep. ad  
 Demetr.

The zeal of Pythagoras was not confined to his  
 school, and the instruction of private persons, but  
 even penetrated into the palaces of the great. That

\* Inter hæc, velut genetricem virtutum frugalitatem omnibus in-  
 gerebat, consecutivæ disputationum assiduitate erat, ut matronæ  
 auratas vestes, cæteraque dignitatis suæ ornamenta, velut instru-  
 menta luxuriæ, deponerent, eaque omnia delata in Junonis ædem  
 ipsi deæ consecrarent; præ se ferentes, vera ornamenta matronarum  
 pudicitiam, non vestes, esse. *Justin. l. 20. c. 4.*

† Φιλόκοσμος genus fœmineum est: multasque etiam insignis pu-  
 dicitæ, quamvis nulli virorum, tamen sibi sumus libenter ornari.  
*Hieron. Epist. ad Gaudenc.*

philo-

philosopher knew, that to inspire princes and magistrates with the principles of honour, probity, justice, and love of public good, was labouring for the happiness and reformation of whole nations.

\* He had the glory of forming disciples, who proved excellent legislators: Zaleucus, Charondas, and many others, whose wise laws were so useful to Sicily, and that part of Italy called Great Greece, and who have a juster title to the highest praises, than those famed conquerors who have made themselves known to the world only by ravages, fire and sword.

He took great pains to put an end to wars in Italy, and to calm the intestine factions which disturbed the tranquillity of states. War, said he, should be made only against these five things: diseases of the body, ignorance of the mind, passions of the heart, seditions of cities, and discord of families. These five enemies he is for combating with the utmost ardour and perseverance.

Val. Max. The inhabitants of Crotona thought proper, that  
l. 8. c. 15. their senate, which consisted of a thousand persons, should act in all things by the advice of so great a man, and determine nothing but in concert with him; such credit had his prudence and zeal for the public good acquired him.

Crotona was not the only city that had the benefit of his counsels: † many others experienced the good effects of this philosopher's studies. He went from one to another to diffuse his instructions with greater fruit and abundance, and he left behind him, in all places where he continued any time, the precious footsteps of his residence in the

\* Zaleuci leges Charondæque laudantur. Hi, non in foro, nec in consultorum atrio, sed in Pythagoræ tacito illo sanctoque secessu didicerunt jura, quæ florenti tunc Siciliæ & per Italiam Græciæ ponerent. *Senec. Epist. 90.*

† Plurimis & opulentissimis urbibus effectus suorum studiorum approbavit. *Val. l. 8. c. 7.*

ood order, discipline, and wise regulations which  
e established in them.

His maxims of morality were admirable, and he  
was for having the study of philosophy tend solely  
to the rendering men like God. Hierocles gives Hierocl. in  
præf. ad  
carm.  
aurea. his praise to a piece of poetry, intituled, *Carmen*  
*aureum*, (golden verses) which contain this philoso-  
pher's maxims.

But his notions of the nature of God were very  
imperfect. \* He believed that God is a soul dis-  
fused into all the beings of nature, and from which  
human souls are derived: an opinion which Virgil †,  
in the fourth book of the Georgics, has expressed  
in perfectly fine verses. Velleius, in Cicero, refutes  
his opinion in an agreeable but solid manner. "If  
this were so, says he, God would be divided and  
torn to pieces, when these souls were taken from  
his substance. He would suffer, and God is  
not capable of suffering, in a part of himself,  
whenever they suffer, as frequently happens. Be-  
sides which, how comes it that the mind of man  
should be ignorant of any thing, if it were God?"

The Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, Laert.  
was the principal maxim of Pythagoras's philoso-  
phy. He had borrowed it either from the Egyp-  
tians, or the Brachmans, those antient sages of In-  
dia. This opinion subsists still among the idolaters  
of India and China, and is the fundamental princi-  
ple of their religion. According to it, Pythago-  
ras believed, that the souls of men at their death  
passed into other bodies, and, if they had been  
wicked, that they were confined in unclean and mi-  
serable beasts, to expiate the faults of their past lives;

\* Pythagoras censuit Deum animum esse per naturam rerum  
omnem intentum & commeantem, ex quo animi nostri caperentur.  
*de Nat. deor.* n. 27.

† Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, & haustus  
Æthereos dixere. Deum namque ire per omnes  
Terrasque tractusque maris, cælumque profundum.  
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,  
Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas.



and that, after a certain revolution of years or ages, they returned to animate other men.

This philosopher boasted, in this respect, of a privilege entirely singular: for he said \* he remembered in what bodies he had been before he was Pythagoras. But he went no farther back than the siege of Troy. He had first been Æthalides, the supposed son of Mercury, and, having had permission to ask whatever he pleased of that god, except immortality, he desired that he might remember all things even after death. Some time after he was Euphorbus, and received a mortal wound from Menelaus at the siege of Troy. His soul passed afterwards into Hermotimus, at which time he entered the temple of Apollo in the country of the Branchidæ, where he saw his buckler eaten up with rust, which Menelaus on his return from Troy had consecrated to that god in token of his victory. He was afterwards a fisherman of Delos, named Pyrrhus; and, lastly, Pythagoras.

He affirmed that, in a voyage which he had made to hell, he had seen the soul of the poet Hesiod fastened with chains to a pillar of brass, and suffering great torments. That, as for that of Homer he had seen it hanging on a tree, surrounded with serpents, upon account of the many falsehoods he had invented and ascribed to the gods; and that the souls of the husbands, who had lived amiss with their wives, were severely tormented in that region.

To give more weight and credit to these fabulous tales, he had made use of industry and artifice. Upon arriving in Italy, he shut himself up in a subterraneous place, after having desired his mother to

\* ————— Habentque  
Tartara Panthoïden iterum Orco  
Demissum; quamvis clypeo Trojana refixo  
Tempora testatus, nihil ultra  
Nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atræ,  
Judice te non sordidus auctor  
Naturæ.

Hor. Od. 28. l. 1. 1.  
keep

keep an exact journal of all that should pass. When he had continued there as long as he judged proper, his mother, as they had agreed before, gave him her notes, wherein he found the dates and other circumstances of events. He quitted this place with a visage pale and wan. In an assembly of the people he assured them, that he was just returned from hell; and, to convince them of what he said, he began with relating all that had passed during his absence. All the hearers were moved and surprised with that account, and nobody doubted but that there was something divine in Pythagoras. Fears and cries ensued on all sides. The people of Crotona conceived an extraordinary esteem for him, received his lessons with great eagerness, and begged of him that he would vouchsafe to instruct their wives also.

There must have been a very blind credulity or rather gross stupidity amongst the people to have believed such wild chimæras, which often even contradicted themselves. For it does not seem very easy to reconcile the transmigration of souls into different bodies with the pains Pythagoras supposed that the souls of the wicked suffered in hell; and still less with his doctrine upon the nature of souls. For, as the learned translator of Cicero's books upon the nature of the gods observes, the souls of men, and those of beasts, according to Pythagoras, are of the same substance; that is to say, a particle of that universal Soul, which is God himself. When therefore it is said, that the soul of Sardanapalus, as a punishment for his excesses, passes into the body of an hog, it is precisely the same thing as to say, God modifies himself into an hog, in order to punish himself for not having been wise and temperate, whilst he was modified in Sardanapalus.

Lactantius \* has reason for treating Pythagoras

as

\* Videlicet senex vanus (sicut otiosæ aniculæ solent) fabulas tanquam infantibus credulis finxit. Quòd si bene sensisset de iis quibus hæc locutus est, si homines eos existimasset, nunquam sibi tam petulanter

Divinæ  
particulam  
auræ.  
*Horat.*

as an old dotard, and for saying he must have thought that he had talked to infants and not to men, to vent such absurd fables and old women's stories to them with a grave and serious air.

Empedocles, his disciple, rose upon his master's ravings, and composed a genealogy of his soul still more extravagant and various; for, according to Athenæus, he gave out, that he had been a girl, a boy, a shrub, a bird, and a fish, before he was Empedocles.

Athen.  
1.8. p. 365.

But how could so great a philosopher as Pythagoras, and one so valuable for abundance of excellent qualities, conceive so strange a system? How could he draw so great a number of followers after him, whilst he advanced opinions capable of shocking every man of common sense? How happens it that whole nations, in other respects not void of knowledge, and civilised, have retained this doctrine down to our days?

It is most certain that Pythagoras, and all the ancient philosophers, when they began to philosophise, found *the doctrine of the immortality of the soul generally received by all nations*; and it was upon that principle Pythagoras, as well as the rest, founded his system. But, when the question was to fix what became of that soul after its brief office of animating an human body, Pythagoras, and all the philosophers with him, were at a loss and in confusion, without being able to resolve upon anything capable of satisfying a rational mind. They could not reconcile themselves to the Elysian field for the virtuous, nor Styx for the wicked, mere fictions of the poets. Those amusements for the souls of the blessed seemed very insipid to them, and could they be believed to exist without end and to endure throughout all eternity? But the souls of those, who had done neither good nor hurt

tulaxter mentiendi licentiam vindicasset. Sed deridenda homin. levissimi vanitas. *Lactant. divin. Institut.* l. 3. c. 18.



as of infants, what became of them? What was to be their lot, their condition? What were they to do to all eternity?

To extricate themselves from this very difficult objection, some philosophers destined the souls of the wise and ingenious to the contemplation of the course of the stars, the harmony of the spheres, the origin of winds storms, and other meteors, as Seneca and some other philosophers teach. But the generality of the world could have no part in the learned and speculative joys of this philosophical paradise. What occupation then were they to have throughout futurity? They perceived, that it did not consist with so wise a being as God to create beings purely spiritual every day, only to animate bodies for some short space, and to have no other employment during the rest of eternal duration. Why create so many souls of infants, that die in their births, and at their mother's breasts, without ever being able to make the least use of their reason? Does it consist with the wisdom of God to produce so many thousands of new souls every day, and to continue creating them every day throughout all eternity, without either use or purpose? What is to be done with those infinite millions of useless inactive souls? What could be the end of forming those incessantly increasing numbers of spirits without either function or end?

These were unsurmountable difficulties to all the sects of philosophers. In the impossibility of getting over them, some went so far as to doubt and even deny the immortality of the soul. Others, who could not resolve to renounce a maxim, which God has impressed too deeply on the heart of man for him to be able to disown it, found themselves reduced to make them pass from one body into another: and, as they could not conceive eternal punishments, they believed that they sufficiently punished the wicked, in confining them within the bodies of beasts. And  
from

from thence they fell into all the absurdities with which they are justly reproached. But the other Sects scarce defended themselves better from the absurdities to which their different Systems gave birth.

Metam.

l. 15.

But to return to Pythagoras. In necessary consequence of the Metempsychosis he concluded, and one of the capital points of his moral doctrine was, that man committed a great crime, when he killed and eat animals; because, all animals, of whatsoever kind they are, being animated with the same soul, it was an horrid cruelty to cut the throat of another self. This is what Ovid, where he feigns that Pythagoras instructs king Numa in his maxims, wittily describes after his manner in these three verses :

*Heu ! quantum scelus est in viscera viscera condi,  
Congestoque avidum pinguescere corpore corpus,  
Alteriusque animantem animantis vivere letho.*

But, observes again with abundance of wit the translator already cited, what would Pythagoras have answered to a man who should have asked him conformably to his own principles: “ What injury do I do a fowl in killing it? I only make it change its form, and it is much more likely to gain than lose by that change, Perhaps that soul immediately after quitting its body, will go to animate some embryo, who will one day be a great monarch or philosopher: and, instead of seeing itself confined to a fowl, which uncharitable men leave in a yard to suffer the injuries of the weather, and a thousand other inconveniencies, it will find itself seated in an assemblage of corpuscles, that, forming the body, sometimes of an Epicure, sometimes of a Cæsar, will glut itself with pleasures and honours.”

Satyr. 6.

l. 2.

The same philosopher forbade his disciples to eat beans; from whence Horace calls them the relations or allies of Pythagoras: *faba Pythagoræ cognata.*

Different

Different reasons are given for this prohibition; amongst others, that\*beans, by the great wind they occasion, excite vapours very contrary to the tranquillity of soul necessary to those, who devote themselves to inquiring after truth.

I should never have done, if I undertook to relate circumstantially all the wonders ascribed to Pythagoras. If we may believe Porphyry, that declared enemy of Christianity, and Iamblichus his disciple, (for they are the worthy authorities for all these miracles) Pythagoras made even the beasts understand and obey him. He commanded a bear that made great ravages in Daunia to be gone, and it disappeared. He forbade an ox, after having whispered a word in his ear, to eat beans: and never more did he touch a bean. It is affirmed that he had been seen and heard at the same time disputing in the public assemblies of two cities very remote from each other; the one in Italy, and the other in Sicily. He foretold earthquakes, appeased tempests, expelled pestilence, and cured diseases. His golden thigh ought not to be omitted. He shewed it to his disciple Abaris, the priest of Apollo Hyperboreus, to prove to him that himself was that Apollo; and he had also shewn it, says Iamblichus, in a public assembly at Crotona. What wonders does not the same Iamblichus relate of this Abaris? Borne upon a dart as upon a Pegasus, he could pass a great way through the air in a short time, without being stopt or retarded in his course by rivers, seas, or places inaccessible to other men. Would one believe, that the miracles and cures ascribed to Pythagoras could be quoted on the testimony of such authors, as things of a real nature? *Credat Judæus Apella*. People of sense, even amongst the Pagans, openly laughed at them.

\* Ex quo etiam Pythagoricis interdictum putatur, ne faba vescerentur; quòd habet inflationem magnam is cibus, tranquillitati mentis quærentis vera contrariam. *Cic. l. 1. de Divinat. n. 62.*



It is time to make an end of his history. The circumstances of his death are very differently related, which I shall not enter into particularly.

Justin.

l. 20. c. 4.

Justin observes, that he died at Metapontum, whether he had retired after having continued twenty years at Crotona; and the people's admiration of him rose so high, that they converted his house into a temple, and honoured him as a god. He lived to a very advanced age.

### EMPEDOCLES.

A. M.

3560.

EMPEDOCLES, a Pythagorean philosopher, was of Agrigentum, a city of Sicily. He flourished in the LXXXIVth Olympiad. He travelled much, as was the custom of those times, in order to enrich his mind with curious knowledge. On his return into his country, he frequented the schools of the Pythagoreans. Some make him Pythagoras's disciple: but he is believed to have lived many years after him.

Diog.

Laert.

He applied himself not only to composing works, but reforming the manners of his country; and Empedocles spared no pains to do at Agrigentum what Pythagoras had done at Crotona. The city of Agrigentum was abandoned to luxury and debauch. Its inhabitants, according to Diogenes Laertius, amounted to eight hundred thousand: which is to be understood of its territory as well as city. I have mentioned its power and riches elsewhere. Empedocles used to say that the people of Agrigentum abandoned themselves to feasting and pleasure, as if they believed they were to die to-morrow; and applied themselves in building, as if they thought they were never to die.

Diod.

l. 13. p. 205.

Nothing shews the luxury and effeminacy of the Agrigentines better, than the order given those who were to defend the city in the night against the attacks of the Carthaginians. By this order each man

was

was to have only one camel's skin, one tent bed, one woollen quilt, and two pillows. The Agrigentines thought this discipline highly severe, and could not be brought into submitting to it without difficulty. Amongst these citizens abandoned to luxury, there were however persons of merit, who made a very good use of their riches, as I have shewn elsewhere.

The authority, which Empedocles had acquired at Agrigentum, he employed solely in making peace and good order take place as much as possible. The supreme command was offered him, which he tenaciously refused. His principal care was to put an end to the divisions that prevailed amongst the Agrigentines, and to persuade them to consider themselves as all equals, and members of one and the same family. His next attention was to reform the insolence of the principal persons of the city, and to prevent the dissipation of the public revenues. As to himself, he employed his own estate in marrying the young women that had no portions.

In order to establish equality as much as possible amongst the citizens of Agrigentum, he caused the Council, which consisted of a thousand persons chosen out of the richest citizens, to be abolished. He rendered it triennial, from perpetual, as it was before; and prevailed that the people should be admitted into it, or at least such of them as favoured democratical government.

When Empedocles went to the Olympic games, nothing was talked of there but him. His praises were the common subject of all conversations. It was an antient custom to sing the verses of the great poets in public, as those of Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Phocylides, and others. The same honour was done to those of Empedocles. The singer Cleomenes sung his *Purifications*

in the Olympic games. This was a moral poem of three thousand hexameters, composed by our philosopher upon the duties of civil life, the worship of the gods, and the precepts of morality. It took its name from containing maxims, which taught the means for purifying and improving the soul. The *golden verses* are believed to have been part of this poem.

Carmen aureum.

Idem.

Empedocles was at the same time a philosopher, poet, historian, physician, and even, according to some, magician. It is very probable that his magic was only the profound knowledge he had acquired in whatever was most abstruse in nature. The important service he had done the people of Agrigentum, in making certain periodical winds cease to blow, which by their pernicious nature did great damage to the fruits of the earth, was ascribed to magic: as was also that he did for the inhabitants of Selinontum, in curing them of a pestilence occasioned by the stench of the waters of a river that ran through their city. His magic, as to the first, was his having filled up an opening of a mountain from whence issued the infected exhalations, which a south wind drove upon the territory of Agrigentum; and, as to the second, it was his having caused two small rivers to empty themselves into that of Selinontum, which sweetened the water, and removed its bad quality.

Laert.

The most wonderful effect of Empedocles's magic, and which made him be considered as a god, was the pretended resurrection of an Agrigentine

L. 6. c. 52. woman, named Panthea. Pliny speaks of it as well

L. 2. cont. as Origen. Hermippus, who contents himself

Celf. with saying, that, having been given over by the physicians, and probably taken for dead, she was cured by Empedocles, reduces that miracle to reality; and Galen seems to give into the same

De locis affect. l. 6. opinion.



It is said that Empedocles, \* in order to confirm the world in the opinion they had conceived of his divinity by disappearing suddenly, threw himself into the gulph of mount Ætna. But this extravagance has much the air of being the invention of such as have pleased themselves either with throwing the Marvellous into the lives of these philosophers, or, on the contrary, with rendering them ridiculous. Authors of greater gravity tell us, that he retired into Peloponnesus, where he died at the age of sixty, according to Aristotle, about the beginning of the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad.

Diog.  
Laert.

A. M.  
3576.

## ARTICLE. II.

*Division of the Italic Sect into four sects.*

THE Italic or Pythagorean sect divided itself into four others: that of Heraclitus, which took his name; the Eleatic, of which Democritus was the chief; the Sceptic, founded by Pyrrho; and the Epicurean, instituted by Epicurus.

## SECT. I.

*Sect of Heraclitus.*

LITTLE is known of this philosopher. He was a native of Ephesus, and lived in the LIXth Olympiad. He is said to have had no masters, and to have become learned by continual meditation.

A. M.  
3460.  
Laert.

Amongst many treatises of his composing, that concerning nature, which included his whole philosophy, was the most esteemed. Darius, king of Persia, son of Hyftaspes, having seen this work, wrote a most obliging Letter to Heraclitus, to de-

\* ————— Deus immortalis haberi  
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam  
Insiluit, Horat. de Art. Poët.

fire him to come to his court, where his virtue and knowledge would be more considered than in Greece. The philosopher, little affected with offers so gracious and so full of goodness, replied bluntly, That he saw nothing amongst men but injustice, knavery, avarice, and ambition; and, that contenting himself with little, as he did, the court of Persia suited ill with him. He was not in the wrong at bottom. It is not surprising, that a Greek, born free and an enemy to the pride of Barbarian kings, and the slavery and vices of courtiers, should set an high value upon poverty with independence, and esteem it infinitely more than the greatest fortunes he could expect from a monarch living in the midst of pomp, pride, effeminacy, and pleasures, in a nation devoted solely to luxury. He might indeed have expressed his refusal in more polite terms.

He was a true man-hater. Nothing satisfied him; every thing gave him offence. \* Mankind were the objects of his pity. Seeing all the world abandoned themselves to a joy, of the fallhood of which he was sensible, he never appeared in public without shedding tears, which occasioned his being called *the Weeper*. Democritus, on the contrary, who saw nothing serious in the most serious occupations of men, could not forbear laughing at them. The one could find nothing in life but misery, the other nothing but folly and trifle. Both in some sense were in the right.

Heraclitus, disgusted and tired with every thing, at last conceived so great an aversion for mankind, that he retired to a mountain, where he lived upon herbs in company with wild beasts. A dropsy,

\* Heraclitus quoties prodierat, & tantum circa se malè viventium, imò malè pereuntium viderat, flebat, miserebatur omnium, qui sibi læti felicesque occurrebant. Democritum contrà aiunt nunquam sine risu in publico fuisse: adeo nihil illi videbatur serium eorum, quæ seriò agebantur. *Senec. de Ira*, l. 2. c. 10.

Huic omnia, quæ agimus, miseriæ; illi ineptiæ videbantur. *De Tranq. anim.* c. 15.

which that kind of life occasioned, obliged him to return to the city, where he died soon after.

## S E C T. II.

*Sect of Democritus.*

**D**EMOCRITUS, author of this sect, one of Laert. the greatest philosophers of the antient world, was of Abdera in Thrace. Xerxes, king of Persia, having lodged in the house of Democritus's father, left him some Magi, to be his son's preceptors, and to instruct him in their pretended Theology and Astronomy. He afterwards heard Leucippus, and learnt from him the system of Atoms and Void.

His extraordinary inclination for the sciences induced him to travel into all the countries of the world, where there were hopes of finding learned men. He visited the priests of Egypt, the Chaldeans, and the Persian philosophers. It is even said that he went as far as Ethiopia and India, to confer with the Gymnosophists.

He \* neglected the care of his estate, and left his lands uncultivated, in order to apply himself with less interruption to the study of wisdom. Some go so far as to say, but with little probability, that he put out his eyes in hopes of meditating more profoundly, when the objects of sight should not divert the intellectual powers of his soul. It was in some measure blinding himself to shut himself up in a tomb, as it is said he did, in order to apply more freely to meditation.

What seems most certain, is, that he expended Laert. Athen. l. 4. p. 168. his whole patrimony in his travels, which amounted

\* Democritus, verè falsòve, dicitur oculis se privasse, ut quàm minimè animus à cogitationibus abduceretur. Patrimonium neglexit, agros deseruit incultos, quid quærens aliud nisi beatam vitam? *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 87.

Miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos

Quætaque, dum peregrè est animus sine corpore velox.

*Horat. Epist.* 12. lib. 1.



to above an hundred talents (an hundred thousand crowns.) At his return he was cited before the judges, for having spent his estate in that manner. By the laws of his country, those who had squandered their patrimony were not to be interred in the tombs of their family. He pleaded his cause himself, and produced, as a proof of the just use he had made of his fortune, the most finished of his works, which he read to the Judges. They were so charmed with it, that they not only acquitted him, but caused as much money as he had expended in his travels, undoubtedly out of the public treasury, to be repaid him, erected statues in honour of him, and decreed that after his death the public should charge itself with the care of his funeral: which was accordingly executed. He travelled as a great person, for the sake of instruction, not to enrich himself. He went to the remotest parts of India in quest of the riches of erudition, and scarce regarded the treasures which he found almost at his door, in a country abounding with mines of gold and gems.

He \* passed some time at Athens, the centre of the sciences, and the abode of wit and learning. But, far from endeavouring to display his merit and curious knowledge there, he affected to remain unknown: a circumstance very remarkable in a man of learning and a philosopher!

A fact singular enough is related concerning him, but with no other foundation than Hippocrates's letters, which the Learned believe spurious. The Abderites, seeing Democritus their countryman regard nothing, laugh at and ridicule every thing, say that the air was full of images, endeavour to know what the birds said in their songs, and inhabit tombs almost perpetually, apprehended that his brain was

\* Veni Athenas, inquit Democritus neque me quisquam ibi agnovit. Constantem hominem & gravem, qui gloriatur à gloria se abfuisse! *Tusc. Quæst.* l. 5. n. 104.

turned, and that he would entirely run mad, which they considered as the greatest misfortune that could happen to their city. They therefore wrote to Hippocrates, to desire him to visit Democritus. The great concern they expressed for the health of so illustrious a citizen does them honour. The illustrious physician they had sent for, after some conversations with the supposed sick man, judged very differently of him, and dispelled their fears, by declaring that he had never known a wiser man, nor one more in his senses. Diogenes Laertius also mentions this journey of Hippocrates to Abdera.

Nothing certain is said either of his birth, or the time of his death. Diodorus Siculus makes him A. M. die at the age of ninety, the first year of the XCth 3584. Olympiad.

Democritus had a fine genius, with a vast, extensive, penetrating wit, which he applied to the whole circle of curious knowledge. Physics, ethics, mathematics, polite learning, liberal arts, all came within the sphere of his activity.

It is said, that, having foreseen a certain year would prove bad for olives, he bought at a very low rate a great quantity of oil, by which he gained immensely. \* Every body was amazed with reason, that a man who had never seemed to regard any thing but study, and who had always set so much value upon poverty, should on a sudden throw himself into commerce, and entertain thoughts of amassing such great riches. He soon explained the mystery himself, in restoring to all the merchants of whom he had bought oil, and who were in despair on account of the bargain they had made with him, all the surplus he had acquired, contenting himself with shewing, that to become rich was

\* *Mirantibus qui paupertatem & quietem doctrinarum ei sciebant in primis cordi esse. Atque, ut apparuit causa, & ingens divitiarum cursus, restituisse mercedem (or rather mercem) anxie & avidæ dominorum poenitentiae, contentum ita probasse, opes sibi in facili, cum vellet, fore. Plin. l. 18. c. 28.*

at his own option. There is something of a like nature in the history of Thales.

Epicurus is obliged to Democritus for almost his whole system; and, to render\* the elegant Latin expression, he is the source from which the stream that water the gardens of Epicurus flow. The latter was in the wrong, in not confessing his obligations to Democritus, and in treating him as a dreamer. We shall shew in the sequel his opinion concerning the supreme good of man, the world and the nature of the gods.

Laert.

It was Democritus also that supplied the Sceptic with all they said against the evidence of the senses. For, besides its being his custom to say, that truth lay hid at the bottom of a well, he maintained that there was nothing real except atoms and vacuity and that all else was only opinion and appearance.

Plato is said to have been the declared enemy of Democritus. He had collected all his books with care, and was going to throw them into the fire when two Pythagorean philosophers represented that doing so would signify nothing, because they were then in the hands of many. Plato's hatred for Democritus appears in his having never cited him, even in places where to refute him was the question, though he has mentioned almost all the rest of the antient philosophers.

### S E C T. III.

*Sceptic or Pyrrhonic sect.*

**P**YRRHO, a native of Elis in Peloponnesus, was the disciple of Anaxarchus, and accompanied him to India. It was undoubtedly in the train of Alexander the Great, from whence we may collect in what time he flourished. He had prac

\* Democritus vir magnus in primis, cujus fontibus Epicurus hortulos suos irrigavit. *De nat. dor.* l. 1. n. 121.



fed the art of painting, before he applied himself to philosophy.

His opinions differed little from those of Arceſius, and terminated in the incomprehenſibility of all things. He found, in all things, reaſons for affirming, and reaſons for denying: and therefore he did aſſent after having well examined both ſides of the queſtion, concluding only that hitherto he ſaw nothing clear and certain in it, *non liquet*; and that the ſubject in queſtion required farther diſcuſſion. Accordingly he ſeemed during his whole life in queſt of truth; but he took care always to contrive ſubterfuges, to avoid conſenting that he had found it: That is to ſay, in reality he would not find it; and that he concealed ſo hideous a turn of mind under the ſpecious outſide of inquiry and examination.

Though he was not the inventor of this method of philoſophiſing, it however bears his name: the art of diſputing upon all things, without ever going farther than to ſuſpend one's judgment, is called *Pyrrhonism*. The diſciples of Pyrrho were called alſo *Sceptics*, from a Greek word which ſignifies *to ſκεπτομαι*. *conſider, to examine*; becauſe their whole application terminated in that.

Pyrrho's indifference is aſtoniſhing; and, if all Laert. Diogenes Laertius relates of it be true, it roſe even to madneſs. That hiſtorian ſays he did not prefer one thing to another; that a waggon or a precipice did not oblige him to go a ſtep out of his way; and that his friends who followed him often ſaved his life. However, he one day ran away from a dog that flew at him. When he was railled upon apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 14. c. 18. for ſo contrary to his principles, and ſo unworthy of a philoſopher: *It is hard*, replied he, *to divest one's ſelf entirely of the man.*

His maſter Anaxarchus having fallen into a ditch Laert. in his company, he walked on without ſo much as offering him his hand. Anaxarchus, far from taking it

it amiss, blamed those who reproached Pyrrho with so inhuman a behaviour, and praised his discipl for his indifference of mind, which argued his loving nothing. What would become of society, and the commerce of life, with such philosophers?

Stobæus,  
sermone  
118.

Pyrrho maintained that life and death were equally indifferent. *Why don't you die then?* somebody asked him. *For that very reason,* replied he, *because life and death are equally indifferent.*

Laert.

He taught an abominable doctrine, that opened the way for crimes of every kind: That the honour and infamy, the justice and injustice of actions depended solely upon human laws and custom: in a word, that there was nothing honest or dishonest just or unjust, in itself.

Laert.

His country considered him highly, conferred the dignity of Pontiff upon him, and granted philosophers an exemption from taxes upon his account: a very singular conduct in regard to a man who merited only punishments, whilst they loaded him with honours.

## S E C T. IV.

### *Epicurean sect.*

Laert.

A. M.  
3663.

**E**PICURUS, one of the greatest philosophers of his age, was born at Gargettium in Attica the third year of the CIXth Olympiad. His father Neocles, and his mother Cherestrata, were of the number of the inhabitants of Attica sent by the Athenians into the island of Samos. This occasioned Epicurus's passing his infancy in that island.

Laert.

A. M.  
3699.

He did not return to Athens till the eighteenth year of his age. It was not to fix there: for some years after he went to his father, who lived at Colophon; and afterwards resided in different places. He did not settle at Athens for good, till about the thirty-sixth year of his age.

He there erected a school in a fine garden which he had purchased. An incredible throng of hearers soon came thither from all parts of Greece, Asia, and even Egypt. to receive his lessons. If we may believe Torquatus, the warmest assertor of the Epicurean sect, upon this head, the disciples of Epicurus lived in common with their master in the most perfect friendship. Though throughout all antiquity, at least for many ages, scarce three couple of true friends had appeared, \* Epicurus had known how to unite great numbers of them in one house, and that a small one. The philosopher Numenius, who lived in the second century, observes that, amidst the discord and divisions which prevailed amongst each of the other sects, the disciples of Epicurus had continued in union down to his time. His school was never divided, but always followed his doctrine like an oracle. His birth-day was celebrated in the time of Pliny the Naturalist, that is to say, above four hundred years after his death: they even feasted the whole month in which he was born. His picture was to be seen every-where.

De Finib.  
l. 1. n. 65.

Euseb.  
Præp.  
Evangel.  
l. 14. c. 5.

Plin. l. 34.  
c. 2.

Epicurus composed a great number of books, which are made to amount to above three hundred; and piqued himself upon quoting nothing, and deriving every thing from his own fund. Though none of them are come down to us, no philosopher's opinions are better known than his. We are most indebted for them to the poet Lucretius, and Diogenes Laertius, not to mention Cicero in his philosophical works. The learned Gassendi has collected with great exactness all that is to be found in antient writers concerning the doctrine and person of Epicurus.

He placed the Atomical system in exceeding reputation. We shall see that he was not the inventor of it, but that he only changed some things in

\* Epicurus una in domo, & ea quidam angusta, quàm magnos, quantaque amoris conspiratione consentientes tenuit amicorum greges? Cic.



it. His doctrine upon the supreme good of man which he makes to consist in pleasure, contributed very much both to decry his sect, and to make it gain ground; it will also be spoken of in the sequel as well as his opinions concerning the nature of the gods, providence, and destiny.

The praise given Epicurus by Lucretius, his faithful interpreter, shews what we ought to think of that philosopher's system. He represents him as the first of mortals who had the courage to rise up against the prejudices that blinded the universe and to shake off the yoke of religion, which till him had held mankind subjected to its empire and that without being awed either by respect for the gods, their fame, their thunders, or any other motive :

*Humana ante oculos sædè cum vita jaceret  
In terris oppressa gravi sub religione——  
Primum Graius homo mortales tollere contrà  
Est oculos ausus, primusque obsistere contrà:  
Quem nec fama deùm, nec fulmina, nec minitanti  
Murmure compressit cælum.*

Laert.

Plut. in

Demetr.

p. 905.

Epicurus is praised for having never departed from his zeal for the good of his country. He did not quit it when besieged by Demetrius Poliorcetes and determined to share in the miseries it suffered. He lived upon beans, and gave his disciples the same food. He desired good sovereigns, but submitted to those who governed ill. A maxim of great importance to the tranquillity of States. Tacitus expresses it in these terms: *Bonos Imperatores voto expetere, qualescumque tolerare.* “To pray for good Emperors, and suffer them, of whatsoever kind they be.”

Tacit.

Hist. l. 4.

c. 8.

Epicurus died in the torments of a retention of urine, which he supported with extraordinary patience and constancy, the second year of the

CXXVIII

XXVIIth Olympiad, at the beginning of his A. M.  
 twenty-second year. 3733.

*General reflection upon the several sects of philosophers.*

I have endeavoured to set the history of the different sects of the heathen philosophers in as clear light as possible. Before I take my leave of that subject, and proceed to explain the various opinions of those sects, I think it incumbent on me to apprize the reader, that he would be deceived, if he expected any considerable change or reformation in the manners of men from the different instructions of all those philosophers. The wisdom, so much boasted by the most learned amongst the many sects to which the universe were divided, could determine no question, and multiplied errors. All human philosophy pretended to was to instruct men in living in a manner worthy of men; because it discovered in men no qualities but such as were human, and allotted to them only the enjoyment of human things. Its instructions are not useless in this point, as they at least dissuade men from the brutal life that dishonours the excellency of their nature, and makes them seek their happiness in the vilest part of their being, which is the body. But all the reformation they effect extends to very few things. What progress have the sects of philosophers made, though indued with so much eloquence, and supported with so much subtilty? Have they not left mankind where they found them, in the same perplexities, prejudices, and blindness?

And indeed how could they labour for the reformation of the human heart, as they neither knew wherein it was irregular, nor the source of its irregularity? Without the revelation of the sin of Adam, what could be known of man, and of his actual state? Since his Fall he abounds with amazing contrarieties. He retains of his first origin characteristics of greatness and elevation, which his degradation

Mr. Du  
 Guet. J. C.  
 crucifié,

Vol. I. c.  
5. d'après  
Mr. Pas-  
chal.

tion and meanness have not been able to extinguish. He wills, he aspires at every thing. His desire of glory, immortality, and an happiness that includes all good, is infinite. A nothing employ him, a nothing afflicts or consoles him. On a thousand occasions he is an infant; weak, fearful, and dejected; without mentioning his vices and passions, which dishonour, debase, and sometimes make him inferior to the beasts of the field, to which he approaches nearer than to man by his unworthy inclinations.

*Principes  
de la Foi.  
Vol. I.  
c. 9.*

The ignorance of these two conditions threw the philosophers into two equally absurd extremes. The Stoics, who made an idol of their chimeric wisdom, were for inspiring man with sentiments of pure and perfect greatness: which is not his condition. The Epicureans, who had degraded him by reducing him to mere matter, inculcated sentiments of pure and absolute meanness into him; and that is also as little his condition. Philosophy was not capable of discerning things so near and at the same time so remote from each other: so near, because united in the state of humanity; and so remote, because they belong by their nature to states entirely different. A distinction of this kind was not made before JESUS CHRIST, or independent of JESUS CHRIST. Before him man neither knew nor was capable of knowing himself. He either exalted or debased himself too much. His teachers always deceived him, either in flattering a pride which was necessary to depress, or augmenting a meanness which was necessary to exalt. Hence I comprehend how necessary revelation was to me, and how precious ought to think the gift of the faith.

It is true the manner, in which the sin of Adam extended down to me, is covered with obscurity. But, from that very point wrapt up in darkness issues the light which makes all clear, and dispels all my difficulties. I am therefore far from refusing



to believe one only thing, of which the belief is rewarded by the understanding of so many others : and chuse rather to submit my reason a single article, which it does not comprehend, but which is revealed, than to make it fly out against an infinity of others it comprehends as little, and of which divine revelation neither forbids us the examination, nor removes the difficulties.



## PART THE SECOND.

## HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.



## INTRODUCTION.

**B**Y the history of philosophy I understand the doctrines taught by each Sect of the antient philosophers.

Philosophy, amongst the antients, consisted of three parts : Dialectics or Logic, which directs the operations of the mind, and the formation of argument ; Physics (that included also metaphysics) which considers the structure of the world, the effects of nature, the existence and attributes of the Divinity, and the nature of the soul ; and lastly Ethics, which lays down morals, and treats of the duties of life.

This is an ample subject, and the reader must not expect that I should treat it to the bottom. I have already declared more than once, that I do not write for the learned. Stoics, Peripatetic, and Epicureans are frequently mentioned in books and conversation. I thought it proper therefore to give the generality, and persons of no great reading, some knowledge of the principal questions discussed by those philosophers, but without entering into an

exact detail of their disputes, which are often very knotty and disagreeable.

Before I proceed to my subject, I cannot help observing the wonderful taste that prevailed amongst the most considerable persons for all the sciences, and in particular for the study of philosophy. I do not speak only of the Greeks. We have seen how much the famous sages of Greece were esteemed in the court of Cræsus; the value Pericles set upon, and the use he made of, the lessons of Anaxarchus; what passion the most illustrious citizens of Athens had for the conversation of Socrates; in what a manner Dion, notwithstanding the allurements of a court abandoned to pleasure, devoted himself to Plato; with what a taste even for the most abstracted knowledge Aristotle inspired his pupil Alexander the Great; and lastly, how highly Pythagoras and his disciples were considered by the princes of that part of Italy called Great Greece.

The Romans did not give place in this respect to the Greeks, from the time that learning and the polite arts were introduced amongst them. Paulus Æmilius, after the conquest of Macedonia, though one of the most grateful fruits of his victory, he having brought a philosopher from Greece to Rome to instruct his children who were then in the army and to converse with himself at his leisure hours. Scipio Africanus, \* who destroyed Carthage and Numantia, those formidable rivals of Rome, in the † midst of the most important affairs both of war and peace, knew how to procure himself moments of repose and retirement, for enjoying the

\* Africanus duos terrores imperii Romani, Carthaginem Numantiamque deleverat. *Pro Mur.* n. 58.

† Ille, requiescens à reip. pulcherrimis muneribus, otium si fucebat aliquando, & à coetu hominum frequentiaque interdum tanquam in portam se in solitudinem recipiebat. *De offic.* l. 3. n. 2.

Scipio tam elegans liberalium studiorum omnisque doctrinæ auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellent ingenio viros, domi militiæque semper secum habuerit. *Vell. Pater* l. 1. c. 13.

conversation of Polybius and the philosopher Panætius, whom he had always along with him. Lælius, that model of virtue, more worthy of respect for his mild wisdom than his dignities, the intimate friend of Scipio, shared with him in the pleasure of those learned and agreeable conversations. The \* friendship of those two great men for Panætius rose to a great degree of familiarity, and Cicero says the philosopher highly deserved it. What honours did not Pompey render Posidonius, going expressly to Rhodes, on his return from his glorious campaigns against Mithridates, to see and hear that philosopher! † Lucullus, even whilst in the field, where a General has scarce time to breathe, found moments of leisure however for gratifying his taste for polite learning, and in particular for philosophy, and to hear the philosopher Antiochus, who was the companion of all his expeditions.

The Abbé Gedoy, in respect to a letter of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, observes upon the use which the great men of the Roman commonwealth made of their leisure. The excellent education of the Romans, says he, made them learned almost from their infancy. They were perfectly instructed in their own and the Greek tongues: to learn those two living languages cost them little. They were inspired very early with a taste for the most excellent writers. That taste, instilled so soon into their infant minds, grew strong with years, and inclined them to cultivate the society of learned men, whose conversation might supply the place of reading, of which their employments deprived them. Thence it followed that the Romans, whose

*Mem. de  
l'Acad. des  
Belles Let  
tres. Tom.  
V. p. 126.*

\* Homo inprimis ingenuus & gravis, dignus illa familiaritate Scipionis & Lælii, Panætius. *De Finib.* l. 4. n. 23,

† Majore studio Lucullus cum omni literarum generi, tum philosophiæ deditus fuit, quam qui illum ignorabant arbitrabantur. Iæc verò ineunte ætate solum, sed & quæstor aliquot annos, & in ipso bello, in quo ita magna rei militaris esse occupatio solet, ut non vultem imperatori sub ipsis pellibus otio relinquantur. — Antiochum cum habuit. *Academ. Quæst.* l. 4. n. 4.



minds were all improved by Letters, lived together in a continual commerce of erudition. And what must have been the conversation of a great number of Romans, when they happened to meet in the same company! Hortensius, Cicero, Cotta, Cæsar, Pompey, Cato, Brutus, Anticus, Catullus, Lucullus, Varro, and many others.

Pro Arch.  
poet. n. 13.

But never did any one carry the taste and ardour, especially for philosophy, higher than Cicero. It is not easy to conceive how a man so much taken up as he was between the affairs of the bar and those of the state, could find time to make himself master, as he had done, of all the questions discussed in his days amongst the philosophers. That time, as he tells us himself in respect to polite learning, was what others bestowed on walking, pleasure, the public shews, and gaming, and which he employed either in his closet, or in familiar conversation with friends of the same taste as himself.

He was convinced that such studies and recreation perfectly suited senators and statesmen, when they did not interfere with what they owed the public. Were it better, says he, that their meetings were in some measure passed in silence, or turned upon trifles and insignificant matters?

The philosophical books he has left us, which are not the least estimable part of his works, shew how far he had carried his application in that way. Without speaking of all the rest, he lays down excellent rules in them for those who write upon controverted subjects, and who undertake to refute

• Si quodam in libro vere est nobis philosophia laudata, perfectio ejus tractatio optima atque amplissima quoque dignissima est: nec quidquam aliud videndum est nobis, quos populus Romanus hoc in gradu collocavit, nisi ne quid privatis studiis de operâ publicâ detrahamus. — Quasi vero clarorum virorum aut tacitis consiliis esse oporteat, aut ludicris sermones, aut rerum colloquia leviorum. *Adem. Quæst. 1. 6.*

their

their adversaries. \* He is for engaging in disputes only from the love of truth, without prejudice, and without desire either of displaying one's wit, or of carrying one's point. He banishes all passion, anger, heat, insult, and reproaches from them. † We are, says he speaking of himself, ready to refute our adversaries without tenaciousness in error, and to be refuted by them without resentment.

How amiable is this character! How beautiful is it to seek in disputes, not to overcome our opponents, but solely to make truth triumphant! What advantage would not self-love itself, if it were allowable to hearken to it, find in such a conduct, to which it is not possible to refuse one's esteem, which adds new force to argument, which, whilst it gains the heart, prepares the mind for conviction, and by politeness and modesty spares the mortifying confession of being mistaken, the secret pain, with which, through a vicious shame, it is almost always attended. When will this taste for study, and this moderation in disputes, revive amongst us?

We must however own for the honour of our times, that we have persons of extraordinary merit, who distinguish themselves particularly by these two qualities. I shall only mention the President Bouhier in this place. His learned remarks upon the text of several of Cicero's books would alone suffice to shew the great extent of that illustrious magistrate's knowledge. The Abbé Olivet, in his preface to the new edition of the Tusculan Questions, translated partly by the President Bouhier, and

\* Ego, si ostentatione aliqua inductus, aut studio certandi, ad hanc potissimum philosophiam me applicavi, non modo stultitiam meam, sed etiam mores & naturam contemnendam puto. *Acad. Quæst.* l. 4. n. 65.

Differentium inter se reprehensiones non sunt vituperandæ. Maledicta, contumeliæ, tum iracundiæ, contentiones, concertationesque in disputando pertinaces, indignæ mihi philosophia videri solent. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 27.

† Nos & refellere sine pertinacia, & refelli sine iracundia paratissimi sumus. *Tusc. Quæst.* l. 2. n. 5.



partly by himself, with a success that does equal honour to them both, says very well; "Perhaps  
 " the example of a man of his rank and merit  
 " may revive the taste for critical learning in  
 " France: a taste so common heretofore, that the  
 " celebrated Lambinus, when he devoted his la-  
 " bours to Cicero, was assisted by the greatest per-  
 " sons of his times. For, to make a transient  
 " observation, the list which he has left us of them,  
 " and which may be seen at the end of his preface,  
 " proves, that this same Cicero, who in our days  
 " is banished into the colleges, was two hundred  
 " years ago the delight of all the most considerable  
 " persons either of the bar or church."

But I admire the character of modesty and wisdom, which prevail in the writings of the P. Boucher, still more than his vast erudition. Mr. Davies had made some observations in England upon the same text of Cicero as himself. *The career of us both, says the magistrate, in this kind of literary amusement, does not resemble those in which rivals ought only to aspire at the honour of overcoming. The true glory of critics consists in seeking the truth, and in doing justice to those who have found it. I am therefore charmed with doing it to the learned Englishman.* He even thanks him for setting him right in respect to certain mistakes. What a difference there is between so moderate and rational a disposition, and the warmth of those authors who are so jealous of their reputation, as not to be able to suffer the slightest criticism!

To return to my subject. The division of philosophy into three parts, logic, ethics, and physics, supplies me with what I am to follow in the ensuing brief account of them.





## CHAPTER I.

*Opinions of the antient philosophers upon logic.*

**D**IALECTICS, or LOGIC, is the science that lays down rules to direct the operations of the mind in inquiries after the true, and \* to teach us to discern it from the false. I have observed with sufficient extent, in the fourth volume of my treatise upon the study of polite learning, of what advantage this part of philosophy was, and the use to be made of it.

Aristotle, among the antients, is the most excellent author of logic. Besides several other works, we have his four books *De analysi*, wherein he lays down all the principles of reasoning. “ This genius, says Rapin the Jesuit in his comparison of Aristotle and Plato, so replete of reason and understanding, fathoms the abyss of the human mind in such a manner, that he penetrates into all its springs by the exact distinction he makes of its operations. The vast fund of the thoughts of man had not before been founded, in order to know its depth. Aristotle was the first who discovered this new method for attaining knowledge by the evidence of demonstration, and for proceeding geometrically to demonstration by the infallibility of syllogism, the most accomplished work, the greatest effort of human wit.”

This is a praise, to which nothing can well be added : and indeed Aristotle cannot be denied the glory of having carried the force of reasoning very far, and of having traced out the rules and prin-

\* Dialectica veri & falsi disceptatrix & judex. *Acad. Quest.* l. 4. n. 91.

ciples of it with abundance of subtility and discernment.

\* Cicero seems to acknowledge this philosopher the author and inventor of logic: he ascribes that In Zenon. honour himself to Zeno of Elæa, according to Diogenes Laertius. Hence it is believed that Zeno was the first who discovered the natural series and dependence of principles and consequences, of which he formed an art, that till then had nothing fixed and regular. But Aristotle, without doubt, rose exceedingly upon him.

† This study was the principal occupation of the Stoics, who acknowledged another Zeno for their founder. They piqued themselves upon excelling in this kind of philosophy. And indeed their manner of reasoning was warm, vigorous, close, and proper to dazzle and perplex their opponents, but obscure, dry, and void of all ornament, often degenerating into minuteness, sophism, and captious & wrested arguments, to use Cicero's term.

Though the question, Whether there be any thing certain in our knowledge, ought to be considered only as preliminary to logic, it was however made the principal object of it, and what the philosophers disputed with most warmth. Their difference of opinion upon this subject consisted in its being believed by some, that it was possible to know and to judge with certainty, and on the contrary by others, that nothing could be certainly known, nor consequently affirmed, as positive.

Abad. Socrates's manner of disputing might have made  
Quæst. Every way for this latter method of philosophising. Every  
n. 15. body knows that he never expressed his opinions that he contented himself with refusing that of others without affirming any thing positively, and

\* Aristoteles utriusque partis dialecticæ princeps. *Topic. n. 6.*

† Stoicorum in dialecticis omnis cura consumitur. *Brut. n. 18.*

‡ Contortulis quibusdam ac minutis conclusionibus — effe-  
volunt non esse malum dolorem. *Tusc. l. 2. n. 42.*



that he declared he only knew that he knew nothing; and it was, even for this, he believed that he deserved the praise given him by Apollo, of being the wisest of mankind. Many think that Plato followed the same method, but authors do not agree about it.

But it is certain, that the two most celebrated of Plato's disciples, Spensippus, his nephew, and Aristotles, who formed two famous schools, the first that of the Academics, the other that of the Peripatetics, abandoned Socrates's custom of never speaking but with doubt, and of affirming nothing. Reducing the manner of treating questions to certain rules and a certain method, they composed, of those rules and method, an art, a science known, under the name of the dialectics, or logic, which makes one of the three parts of philosophy. Though these two schools had a different name, they had at bottom the same principles with some very little difference, and are generally confounded under the name of the ancient academy.

The opinion of the ancient academy was, that, though our knowledge has its origin in the senses, the senses do not judge of truth, but the mind, which alone deserves to be believed, because the mind alone sees things as they really are in themselves, that is to say, it sees what Plato calls the ideas, which always subsist in the same state, without suffering any change.

Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, who was of Citium, a small town of Cyprus, granted something more to the evidence of the senses, which he pretended to be certain and clear, but under certain conditions, that is, if they were perfect and in good health, and without any obstacle to prevent their effect.

Ita tamen maxima est in sensibus veritas, si & sani sunt, & valentes, & omnia remouentur quæ obstant & impediunt.



Epicurus went still farther. He gave so great certainty to the evidence of the senses, that he \* considered them as an infallible rule of truth: so that by his doctrine objects are precisely what they appear: that the sun, for instance, and the fixed stars, had really no greater magnitude than they seem to have to our eyes. He admitted another means of discerning truth, that is, the ideas we have of things, without which we can neither form any question, nor pass any judgment: *Antecepto animo quædam informatio, sine qua nec intelligi quicquam, nec quæri, nec disputari potest.*

Lib. de  
nat. deor.  
H. 43.

Zeno made use of the same principle, and insisted particularly upon the clear, evident, and certain ideas, which we naturally have of certain principles relating to morals and the conduct of life. “† The good man, says he, is determined to suffer every thing, and to perish in the most cruel torments, rather than depart from his duty, and betray his country. I ask why he imposes upon himself a law so cruel, and so contrary in appearance to his interests, and whether it be possible for him to take such a resolution, if he had not a clear and distinct idea in his mind of justice and fidelity, which evidently shew him, that he ought to expose himself to every kind of infiction, rather than act what is contrary to justice and fidelity.”

This argument, which Zeno sounds upon the certainty of clear and evident ideas, shews the falshood of the principle generally received in the school of the

\* Epicurus omnes sensus veri nuncios dixit esse. *Lib. 1. de nat. deor. n. 70.*

† Quæro etiam, ille vir bonus, qui statuit omnem cruciatum perferre, intolerabili dolore lacerari potius, quam aut officium prodas aut fidem, cur has sibi tam graves leges imposuerit, cum, quàmobrem ita oporteret, nihil haberet comprehensi, percepti, cogniti, constituti? Nullo igitur modo fieri potest, ut quisquam tanti æstimet æquitatem & fidem, ut ejus conservandæ causa nullum supplicium recuset, nisi iis rebus assensus sit, quæ falsæ esse non possunt. *Acad. Quæst. l. 4. n. 23.*

Peripatetics, *That all our ideas are derived from our senses.* For, as the logic of Port-Royal observes, here is nothing that we conceive more distinctly than our thought itself, nor any proposition more clear than this, *I think, therefore I am.* Now we could have no certainty of this proposition, if we did not conceive distinctly what it is *to be*, and what it is *to think*. And we must not be asked to explain those terms, because they are of the number of those which are so well understood by all the world, that endeavouring to explain them would render them obscure. If it cannot be denied, that we have in us the ideas of being and thinking, I would know by which of the senses they entered into our minds. It must then be admitted that they do not in any manner derive their origin from the senses.

Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuerit in sensu.

\* Zeno shewed also the falshood and ridicule of the opinion of the Academics by another reflection. In the ordinary conduct of life, said he, it is impossible to make any choice, or determine upon any thing, without first having a fixed and certain principle in the mind, to determine us to chuse one thing rather than another: For without that we should continue always in uncertainty and inaction.

The followers of the antient academy, and the Stoics, agreed therefore with each other, as both maintained, though upon different principles, that there were certain means for knowing truth, and consequently evident and certain knowledge.

Arcefilaus rose up with great vivacity against this opinion, confining himself particularly to opposing Zeno; and formed a sect, which was called the Middle academy, and subsisted down to Carneades, the fourth successor of Arcefilaus, who founded the

Academ.  
Quæst. l. 1.  
n. 44.

\* Si, quid officii sui sit, non occurrit animo, nihil unquam omnino ager, ad nullam rem unquam impelletur, nunquam movebitur. Quod si aliquid aliquando acturus est, necesse est id ei verum, quod occurrit, videri. *Ibid. n. 24.*

sect

sect called the New Academy. As it deviated only in some small alterations from the Middle one they are confounded with each other, and both included in the name of *the New Academy*. This sect was in great reputation. Cicero embraced it openly, and declared himself its defender.

Academ.  
Quæst.

l. i. n. 44.

If we may believe him, it was neither through obstinacy, nor the frivolous desire of overcoming that Arcefilaus attacked Zeno, but through the obscurity of all knowledge, which had obliged Socrates, as well as Democritus, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, and almost all the antient philosophers to confess their ignorance, and to agree, that there was nothing to be known, nothing determine with certainty, not even what Socrates had excepted in saying, *I know only one thing, which is, that know nothing.*

Ibid. n. 66,  
&c.

The main point in dispute between Zeno and Arcefilaus was the evidence of the senses. Zeno affirmed, that truth might be certainly known by their aid: Arcefilaus denied it. The latter's principal reason was, that there is no certain mark to distinguish false and delusive objects from such as are not so. There are some, which either are, or appear so perfectly like each other, that it is impossible to discern the difference. Hence, in judging and affirming any thing of them, one is liable to err, and to take the true for the false, and the false for the true, which is entirely unworthy of a wise man. \* Consequently, to act with prudence he ought to suspend his judgment, and decide nothing. And this was what Arcefilaus did: for he passed whole days in disputing with others, and in refuting their opinions, without ever expressing his own.

\* Ex his illa necessario nata est ἀπορία, id est, assensionis retentio.  
*Acad. Quæst. l. 4. n. 59.*



The Academics, by his example, acted ever after in the same manner. We have seen that Carneades, when he went to Rome with two other deputies, spoke one day for, and the next against, justice, with equal force and eloquence. \* They pretended, that the end of these discourses, wherein they maintained both sides of a question, was, by such inquiries, to discover something true, or at least that came near the truth. The only difference, said they, between us, and those who believe they know something, is, that those other philosophers boldly advance what they maintain for true and incontestable, and we have the modesty to affirm our positions only as probable and like truth. They added, that their doctrine was accused, without foundation, of reducing mankind to inaction, and of opposing the duties of life; as probability and the likeness to truth sufficed to determine their choice of one thing rather than another. We have an excellent treatise of Cicero's intitled *Lucullus*, which is reckoned as the fourth book of the Academic Questions; wherein Cicero makes Lucullus defend the opinion of the antient academy. That there are things which a man is capable of knowing and comprehending; and for himself he maintains the contrary opinion, which is that of the new academy. That man's knowledge extends no farther than appearances, and that he can have none but probable opinions. Lucullus, in concluding his dissertation, which is of considerable length and very eloquent, apostrophises in these terms to Cicero: "Is it possible, after the magnificent praises you have given philosophy, that you can embrace a sect which confounds the true with the false, which deprives us of the use of reason and

Academ.  
Quæst. l. 1.  
n. 108, &c.

Ibid. l. 4.  
n. 61, 62.

\* Neque nostræ disputationes quidquam aliud agunt, nisi ut, in utramque partem dicendo & audiendo eliciant & tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum sit, aut ad id quàm proximè accedat. Lib. 4. n. 7, 8.

“ judgment,

“ judgment, which forbids us to approve any  
 “ thing, and divests us of all our senses? The  
 “ Cimmerians themselves, who are said never to  
 “ see the sun, have some fires, some twilight, to  
 “ illuminate them. But the philosophers, for  
 “ whom you declare, in the midst of the profound  
 “ darkness with which they surround us, leave us  
 “ no spark of light to guide us. They keep us  
 “ hampered in chains, which will not suffer us to  
 “ make the least motion. For, to conclude, to  
 “ forbid us, as they do, to give our consent to  
 “ any thing whatsoever, is actually to deprive us  
 “ entirely of the use of our minds, and at the  
 “ same time to prohibit us all manner of action.”

It were hard to refute the doctrine of the new academy better, which really seems to degrade man, confining him to a state of absolute ignorance, and in leaving nothing to guide him but doubt and uncertainty.

Father Mallebranche, in his inquiry after truth, lays down with great extent an excellent principle concerning the senses. It is, that the senses were given us by God, not to enable us to know the nature of objects, but their relation to us; not what they are in themselves, but whether they are advantageous or hurtful to our bodies. This principle is highly luminous, and destroys all the little glosses and chicane of the antient philosophers. As to objects in themselves, we know them by the ideas we have of them.

*Logic of  
 Port-  
 Royal.  
 Part IV.  
 c. 1.*

I have said that the new Academics contented themselves with denying certainty, and admitting probability. The sect of Pyrrho, which was a branch that sprung from the Academics, even denied that probability, and pretended, that every thing was equally obscure and uncertain.

But the truth is, that all these opinions, which have made so much noise in the world, never subsisted except in discourse, disputation, or writing,  
 whilst

whilst nobody ever was seriously convinced by them. They were the diversions and amusements of persons of wit and leisure: but they were never opinions by which those persons were inwardly much affected, and consequently willing to direct their conduct. They pretended that sleeping could not be distinguished from waking, nor madness from reason: but, notwithstanding all their arguments, could they doubt whether they slept, or whether they were in their senses? But, if there had been any body capable of these doubts, at least no man could doubt whether he is, whether he thinks, or whether he lives. For, whether he sleeps or wakes, whether he is in or out of his senses, whether he does, or does not err, it is at least certain, because he thinks, that he is and that he lives; it being impossible to separate being and life from thought, and to believe that what thinks is not, and does not live.





## CHAPTER II.

*Opinions of the antient philosophers concerning Ethics,  
or morality.*

**M**ORAL philosophy or ETHICS, whose object is the regulation of manners, is, properly speaking, the science of man. All other knowledge is in some measure external and without him, or at least may be said not to extend to what is more immediately personal and himself, I mean the heart: for it is in that the whole man consists, and is what he is. They may render him more learned, more eloquent, more just in his reasonings, more knowing in the mysteries of nature, more fit to command armies, and to govern states: but they neither make him better, nor wiser. These however are the only things that concern him nearly, in which he is personally interested, and without which all the rest ought to appear next to perfectly indifferent.

It was this induced Socrates to believe, that the regulation of manners was to be preferred to all other sciences. Before him the philosophers almost wholly devoted themselves to inquiring into the secrets of nature, to measuring the extent of lands and seas, and in studying the course of the stars. \* He was the first † that placed Ethics in honour, and, to use the terms of Cicero, brought philosophy down from heaven ‡ into cities, intro-

\* A Socrate omnis, quæ est de vita & moribus, philosophia manavit. *Tuscul. Quest.* l. 3. n. 8.

† The more antient philosophers, and especially Pythagoras, has given their disciples good precepts of morality, but did not make them their principal doctrine like Socrates.

‡ Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit è cælo, & in urbibus collocavit, & in domos etiam introduxit, & coegit de vita & moribus, rebusque bonis & malis quærere. *Ibid.* l. 5. n. 10.

duced her also into houses, and familiarised her with individuals, in obliging her to give them precepts upon the manners and conduct of life.

She did not confine herself to the care of particulars. The government of states was always the principal object of the reflections of the most celebrated philosophers. Aristotle and Plato have left us several tracts of great extent upon this subject, which have always been highly esteemed, and contain excellent principles. This part of moral philosophy is called *Politics*. I shall not treat it separately in this place; and shall content myself in the sequel, where I shall speak of duties, with making some extracts from Plato and Cicero, which will shew what noble ideas they had of the manner of governing states.

Moral philosophy ought to instruct mankind principally in two things. It ought, in the first place, to teach them in what that supreme good, or *happiness*, consists, at which they all aspire; then to shew them the virtues and duties, by which they may attain it. It is not to be expected that Paganism should lay down the purest and most perfect maxims upon matters of such importance. We shall find a mixture of light and darkness in it, which will amaze us, and is at the same time highly capable of instructing us.

I shall add a short discourse upon civil law to my account of Ethics, or moral philosophy.

## ARTICLE I.

*Opinions of the antient philosophers upon the supreme good, or happiness, of man.*

[N all moral philosophy there is not a more important subject, than that which relates to the supreme Good of man. Many questions are discussed in the schools indifferent enough with respect to the generality of men, and in which they might

dispense with instructing themselves, without any great detriment to the manners and conduct of life.

\* But the ignorance of what constitutes his supreme good leads man into infinite error, and occasions his walking always by chance, without having any thing fixed and determinate, and without knowing either where he goes, or what paths he ought to take: whereas, that principle once well established, he knows all his duties clearly, and to what he is to adhere in every thing else.

† Philosophers are not the only persons that take pains to inquire wherein this supreme good consists; but all men, the learned, the ignorant, the wise, the stupid: there is nobody that does not share in this important question. And, though the head should continue indifferent about it, the heart could not avoid making its choice. It raises this secret cry of itself in regard to some object: Happy is he who possesses that!

Man has the idea and desire of a supreme good implanted in his nature: and that idea and desire are the source of all his other desires, and of all his actions. Since his Fall, he retains only a confused and general notion of it, which is inseparable from his being. He cannot avoid loving and pursuing this good, which he knows only confusedly: but he knows not where it is, nor wherein it consists, and the pursuit of it precipitates him into an infinity of errors. For, finding created good things which satisfy some small part of that infinite avidity which engrosses him, he takes them for the supreme good, directs all his actions to them, and thereby falls into innumerable crimes and errors.

\* Summum bonum si ignoretur, vivendi rationem ignorari necesse est. Ex quo tantus error consequitur, ut, quem in portum se recipiant, scire non possint. Cognitis autem rerum finibus, cum intelligitur quid sit & bonorum extremum & malorum, inventa vitæ via est, conformatioque omnium officiorum.—Hoc constituto, in philosophia, constituta sunt omnia. *De Finib. bon & mal.* l. 5. n. 15.

† Omnis auctoritas philosophiæ consistit in beata vita comparanda. Beate enim vivendi cupiditate incendi omnes sumus. *Ibid.* n. 86.

This



This we shall see evidently in the different opinions of the philosophers upon this head. Cicero has treated it with abundance of extent and erudition in his five books *De Finibus bonorum & malorum*, in which he examines wherein real good and evil consist. I shall confine myself to the plan he has followed, and shall relate after him what the Epicureans, Stoics, and Peripatetics, the three most celebrated sects of philosophy, thought upon this subject.

The two last will from time to time afford us excellent maxims upon different subjects, but often mixed with false principles and gross errors. We are not to expect to find any thing instructive in them concerning future good. Human philosophy does not exalt man above himself, but confines him to the earth. Though many of the philosophers were convinced of the immortality of the soul, and in consequence that this life is but a moment in respect to the eternal duration of our souls, they have however devoted their whole study and attention to this life of a moment. What was to happen hereafter, in the other, was only the subject of some barren conversations, from which they deduced no consequence either for their own conduct, or that of others. Thus these pretended sages, who knew all things except themselves, and to what every particular thing was destined except man, may be justly considered as ignorant and senseless. For not to know what one is, and whither one goes; to be ignorant of one's end, and of the means for attaining it; to be learned in what is superfluous and foreign, and blind to what is personal and necessary, is certainly to be void of sense.

## SECT. I.

*Opinions of Epicurus concerning the supreme good.*

THE name alone of Epicurus suffices to inform us, that in the present question \* we are not to expect to be inspired by him with noble and generous sentiments.

De Finib. According to all the philosophers, That is called  
l. 1. n. 29, the supreme Good, upon which all other Good depends,  
30. and which depends itself upon no other. Epicurus makes this supreme Good consist in pleasure, and, by necessary consequence, supreme Evil in pain. Nature herself, says he, teaches us this truth, and prompts us from our birth to pursue whatever gives us pleasure as our supreme good, and to avoid whatever gives us pain as our supreme evil. There is no more occasion for studied arguments to establish this truth, than there is to prove that fire is hot, snow white, and honey sweet: which are self-evident. Let us suppose, on one side, a man enjoying the greatest pleasures both of body and mind, without fear of their being interrupted; and on the other, a man suffering the sharpest pains without any hope of relief: can we doubt on which side to place supreme good and supreme evil?

De Finib. As it does not depend upon man to exempt him-  
l. 2. n. 93. self from pain, Epicurus opposes that inconveniency  
Tuscul. with a remedy founded upon a reasoning, which he  
Quæst. l. 2. believes very persuasive. *If pain be great, says he  
n. 44, 45. it will be short; if long, it will be slight.* As if a disease did not often happen to be at the same time both long and painful, and reasoning had any power over the sense of feeling.

Id. l. 3. He proposed another remedy of no greater effi-  
n. 33, &c. cacy, against the sharpness of pain; which was, to divert the mind from the evils we suffer, by turn-

\* Epicurus, in constitutione finis, nihil generosum sapit atque magnificum. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 29.

ing our whole attention upon the pleasures we have formerly enjoyed, and upon those we are in hopes of tasting hereafter. \* How! might one reply to him, whilst the violence of pain racks, burns, and agonises me, without a moment's intermission, do you bid me forget and disregard it? Is it in my power then to dissemble, and forget in that manner? Can I stifle and silence the voice of nature at such a time?

When he was obliged to give up all these false and wretched reasonings, he had no other evasion than to admit, that his wise man might be sensible of pain, but that he would persist in believing himself happy during it; and to this he adhered. Cicero tells us, that, whilst he talks in this manner, he found it scarce possible to forbear laughing. If the sage be tortured, if he be burnt, (one would imagine Epicurus was going to say, that he would bear it with constancy, and not sink under it: but that is not enough for him, he goes still farther) If the † sage were in the burning bull of Phalaris, he would cry out with joy: *How grateful is this! How little I value it!* It is surprising to hear such words from the idolater of voluptuousness, the man who makes supreme good consist in pleasure, and supreme evil in pain. ‡ But we are still more surprised when we see Epicurus sustain this generous character to the last, and to hear him, in the midst of the acutest pangs of the stone, and the excessive torments of the most terrible cholic, cry out: *I*

Tuscul.  
Quæst. l. 2.  
n. 17.

\* Non est in nostra potestate, fodicantibus iis rebus quas malas esse opinemur dissimulatio vel oblivio. Lacerant, vexant, stimulos admovent, ignes adhibent, respirare non sinunt; & tu oblivisci jubes, quod contra naturam est? Cicero.

† In Phalaridis tauro si erit, dicet: *Quàm suave est hoc! Quàm hoc non cura!* Cicero.

‡ Quid porro? Non æquè incredibile videtur, aliquem in summis cruciatibus positum, dicere: *Beatus sum?* Atqui hæc vox in ipsa officina voluptatis est audita: *Beatissimum*, inquit, *hunc & ultimum diem ago*, Epicurus; cum illum hinc urinxæ difficultas torqueret, hinc insanabilis exulcerati dolor ventris. Senec. Epist. 92.



*am happy. This is the last and the most fortunate day of my life.*

Cicero asks, how it is possible to reconcile Epicurus with himself? \* As for him, who does not deny pain to be pain, he does not carry the virtue of the wiseman to so high a pitch. “To me it is enough, says he, if he supports evils with patience. I do not require that he should suffer them with joy. For undoubtedly pain is a sad, sharp, bitter thing, contrary to nature, and exceedingly hard to undergo.” This is thinking and speaking reasonably. The language of Epicurus is that of pride and vanity, which seeks to exhibit itself as a sight, and, whilst it displays a false courage, proves a real weakness.

For the rest, these absurd consequences of Epicurus, were inevitably necessary consequences of his erroneous principles. For, if the wiseman must be happy as long as he is wise, pain, not depriving him of his wisdom, cannot deprive him of his happiness. Thus he is reduced to affirm himself happy in the midst of the most exquisite torments.

It must be owned, that Epicurus has maxims and even actions ascribed to him, which are dazzling and surprising, and which give a quite different idea of his person and doctrine to what is generally formed of them. And from hence many learned and celebrated persons have taken upon them his defence, and wrote his apology.

He declares loudly, says Cicero †, that one cannot live joyously, except with wisdom, honesty,

\* Tullius dolorem, dolorem esse non negat—Ego, inquit, tantam vim non tribuo sapientiæ contra dolorem. Sit fortis in perfe-rendo, officio satis est: ut lætetur etiam, non postulo. Tristis enim res est sine dubio, aspera, amara, inimica naturæ, ad patiendum tolerandumque difficilis. *Tuscul. Quest.* l. 2. n. 33. & 18.

† Clamat Epicurus, non posse jucundè vivi, nisi sapienter, honestè, justèque vivatur: nec sapienter, honestè, justè, nisi jucundè. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 57.

and justice; and that one cannot live with wisdom, honesty, and justice, otherwise than joyously. What does not such a principle include!

Upon moral subjects, and rules of duty, he advances maxims no less noble and severe.

Seneca repeats many of his sayings, which are Senec. certainly very laudable: *I was never studious of* Ep. 29. *pleasing the people: for what I know the multitude do not approve, and what the multitude do approve I don't know.*

Instead of the whole people \* Epicurus substitutes Id. Epist. some man of great virtue and reputation, whom he 11. is for having us set perpetually before our eyes, as our guardian and inspector, in order to our acting in all things, as if he were the eye-witness and judge of our actions. And, indeed, it were to retrench the greatest part of one's faults, to give them a witness one respects: of whom the authority and idea only would make our most secret actions more prudent and blameless.

† If you would make Pythocles truly rich, said Epicurus, you must add nothing to his estate, but only retrench his desires and appetites.

I should never have done, should I repeat his many other maxims of morality equally just. Does Socrates himself talk better than Epicurus? And some pretend that his life suited his doctrine.

Though the gardens of Epicurus had this in- Id. Epist. scription, *Pleasure is here the supreme good*, the 21. master of them, though very courteous and polite, received his guests with bread and water.

\* Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus est, ac semper ante oculos habendus, ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus, & omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus. Hoc, mi Lucili, Epicurus præcepit, custodem nobis & pædagogum dedit: nec immerito. Magna pars peccatorum tollitur, si peccaturis testis adsistat. Aliquem habeat animus, quem vereatur, cujus auctoritate etiam secretum suum sanctius faciat.

† Si vis, inquit, Pythoclea, divitem facere, non pecuniæ adjiciendum, sed cupiditatibus detrahendum. *Senec. Ep. 21.*

Senec.  
Ep. 18.

Himself, this teacher of voluptuousness, had certain days, when he satisfied his hunger with great sobriety. He says in a letter, that he did not spend quite an *as*, that is, a penny, upon a meal; and that Metrodorus, his companion, who was not so old, spent an whole *as*.

We have seen with what courage he suffered the sharpest and most cruel pains in his last moments. What can be said of these facts, and many of the like nature? for many such are related of him.

What shall we say also, on the other side, of facts in great number directly the reverse, and his being reproached with abandoning himself to drunkenness and the most shameful debauches, as Diogenes Laertius informs us?

Tuseul.  
Quæst. 1. 3.  
p. 46, 47.

But Cicero cuts the question short in one word, and reduces it to a single point: "Do you believe," says somebody to him, that Epicurus was the man some are for having him pass for, and that his design was to inculcate irregularity and debauch? No, replies Cicero: for I find he also advances very fine maxims, and most severe morality. But here, not his life and manners, but his doctrine and opinions are the question. Now he explains himself upon what he understands by pleasure and happiness in a manner by no means obscure. \* *I understand by that word,* says Epicurus, *the pleasures of the taste, the pleasures of love, the view of such objects as delight the eye, diversions and music.* Do I add to his words? Have I annexed any thing false to them? If so, pray correct me; for I have no view but to clear up the truth."

De Finib.  
l. 2. n. 7.

The same † Epicurus declares, *He cannot so much*

\* Non verbo solum posuit voluptatem, sed explanavit quid diceret. *Saporem*, inquit, & *corporum complexum*, & *ludos*, atque *cantus*, & *formas* has quibus oculi jucundè moveantur.

† Testificatur, ne intelligere quidem se posse, ubi sit aut quid sit ullum bonum, præter illud, quod cibo, aut potione, & aurium delectatione, & obscena voluptate capiatur. De Finib. l. 2. n. 7.



as conceive that there is any other good, except what consists in drinking, eating, harmonious sounds that delight the ear, and obscene pleasures. Are not these his own terms, says Cicero? *An hæc ab eo non dicuntur?*

De nat.  
deor. l. 1.  
n. 111.

If we suppose that he maintained such a maxim, what regard is to be had for his finest discourses elsewhere upon virtue and purity of manners? The same judgment was passed on them as on the books he wrote upon the Divinity. People were convinced, that in reality he believed there were no gods. He however spoke of the veneration due to them in the most magnificent terms, in order to screen his real sentiments and person, and to avoid drawing the Athenians upon him. He had the same interest in covering so shocking a doctrine, as that which makes the supreme good consist in voluptuousness.

Ibid. l. 1.  
n. 116 and  
123.

Torquatus urged extremely in favour of Epicurus, whose doctrine he defended, the passage where that philosopher said, that, without wisdom, honesty, and justice, it was impossible to lead an happy life: *non posse jucundè vivi, nisi honestè, & sapienter, & justè vivatur.* Cicero does not suffer himself to be dazzled by an empty glitter of words, with which Epicurus took pains to cover the turpitude of his maxims. He proves at large that wisdom, honesty, and justice, were irreconcilable with pleasure, in the sense that Epicurus gives it, which is a disgrace to philosophy, and a dishonour to nature itself. He asks Torquatus, if, when he should be elected consul, which was soon to happen, he would venture, in his speech to the people or senate, to declare, that he entered upon office fully resolved to propose to himself no other view or end in all his actions but voluptuousness? And wherefore would he not venture it, except because he well knows that such language is infamous?

De Finib.  
l. 2. n. 51.  
&c.

Ibid. n. 74.

I shall conclude this article with a fine contrast made here by Cicero. On the one side he represents

Ibid. l. 2.  
n. 63, 64.

sents

sents L. Thorius Balbus Lanuvinus, one of those men so expert and delicate in voluptuousness, that make it their business and merit to refine upon every thing which bears the name of pleasure: who void of all chagrin for the present, and all uneasiness about the future, did not abandon himself brutally to the excesses of eating and drinking, nor to other gross diversions; but, attentive to his health and certain rules of decency, led an easy life of softness and delight, entertained a company of chosen friends every day at his house, had his table always covered with the finest and most exquisite dishes, denied himself nothing that could flatter his senses agreeably, nor any of those pleasures, without which Epicurus did not conceive how the supreme good could subsist; in a word, who was industrious in culling every-where, to use the expression, the quintessence of joy and delight, and whose rosy complexion argued the extraordinary fund of health and good plight which he enjoyed. This is the man, says Cicero, addressing himself to Torquatus, who, according to your estimate, is supremely happy.

\* I am afraid to name the person I design to oppose to him; but virtue itself will do it for me: it is M. Regulus, who, of his own accord, with no other force than his word given the enemy, returned from Rome to Carthage, where he knew what torments were prepared for him, and where he was actually put to death by hunger and being kept perpetually awake. It is in those very torments that

\* Ego, huic quem anteponam, non audeo dicere: dicet pro me ipsa virtus. nec dubitabit isti vestro beato M. Regulam anteponere. Quem quidem, cum sua voluntate, nulla vi coactus præter fidem quam dederat hosti, ex patria Carthaginem revertisset, tum ipsum, cum vigiliis & fame cruciaretur, clamat virtus beatiorum fuisse, quam potentem in rosa Thorium. Bella magna gesserat, bis consul fuerat, triumpharat: nec tamen sua illa superiora tam magna nec tam præclara ducebat, quam illum ultimum casum, quem propter fidem constantiamque susceperat; qui nobis miserabilis videtur audientibus, illi perpetuanti erat voluptarius. *De Finib. l. 2.*

virtue

virtue itself loudly declares him infinitely more happy than your Thorius on his bed of roses, and wallowing in voluptuousness. Regulus had commanded in great wars, had been twice consul, and received the honour of a triumph: but he deemed all those advantages nothing in comparison with this last event of his life, which his fidelity to his word and his constancy had drawn upon him: an event, of which the mere repetition afflicts and frightens us, though the reality was matter of joy and pleasure to Regulus.

Put but a Christian suffering for the truth in the place of Regulus, and nothing can be more conclusive than Cicero's reasoning. Without which it is only refuting one absurdity by another, and opposing a false idea of happiness to an infamous happiness.

## S E C T. II.

*Opinions of the Stoics concerning the supreme good.*

WE now quit the school of least repute amongst the antient philosophers for its doctrine and manners, but which however had abundance of authority, and whose dogma's were almost universally followed in practice, the attraction of pleasure being far more efficacious than the finest reasonings. We now proceed to another school much extolled by the Pagan world, from which it derived abundance of honour, and in which it pretended that virtue was taught and practised in all its purity and perfection. It is plain that I speak of the Stoics.

It was a common principle with all the philosophers, that the supreme good consisted in living according to nature: *secundum naturam vivere, summum bonum esse*. The different manner in which they explained this conformity to nature occasioned the diversity of their opinions. Epicurus placed it in pleasure: others in exemption from pain: and some in other objects. Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, made

De Finib.  
l. 4. n. 14.



made it consist solely in virtue. According to him, to live according to nature, in which alone happiness consists, is to live honestly and virtuously. Behold what nature inspires, to what she inclines us, honesty, *decency*, and virtue: and she inspires us at the same time with a supreme horror for all that is contrary to honesty, *decency*, and virtue.

\* This truth is evidently seen in children, in whom we admire candour, simplicity, tenderness, gratitude, compassion, purity, and ignorance of all evil and artifice. From whence do they derive such excellent virtues, if not from nature herself, who paints and shews herself in infants as in a mirror? In a more advanced † age, who can forget the Man so much as to refuse his esteem to wise, sober, and modest youth: and with what eye on the contrary do we look on young persons abandoned to vice and depravity? When we read in history, on one side, of goodness, generosity, clemency, and, gratitude; and on the other, of violence, injustice, ingratitude, and cruelty: however remote in time we are from the persons spoken of, are we masters of our opinions, can we forbear loving the one and detesting the other? Observe, says Zeno, the voice of nature, which cries aloud, that there is no real good but virtue, no real evil but vice.

The Stoics could not reason either more justly or with apter consequence in their principles, which were however the source of their errors and mis-

\* Id indicant pueri, in quibus, ut in speculis, natura cernitur.—Quæ memoria est in his bene merentium! quæ referendæ gratiæ cupiditas! Atque ea in optima quaque indole maximè apparent. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 61.

† In iis vero ætatibus quæ jam confirmatæ sunt, quis est tam dissimili homini, qui non moveatur & offensione turpitudinis, & comprobatione honestatis? Quis est qui non oderit libidinofam, protervam adolescentiam? Quis contra in illa ætate pudorem, constantiam, etiam si sua nihil interlit, non tamen diligit?—Cui Tubuli nomen odio non est? Quis Aristidem mortuum non diligit? An obliviscamur, quantopere in audiendo legendoque moveamur, cum piè, cum amicè, cum magno animo aliquid factum cognoscimus? *Ibid.* n. 62.

takes.

takes. On the one side, convinced that man is made for happiness, as the ultimate end to which he is destined; and on the other, confining the whole being and duration of man to this life, and finding nothing, in so short a space, more great, more estimable, and more worthy of a man than virtue; it is not to be wondered that they should place man's ultimate end and happiness in it? As they had no knowledge either of another life, or of the promises of eternity, they could not do better in the narrow sphere wherein they confined themselves through the ignorance of revelation. They rose as high as it was possible for them to rise. They were under the necessity of taking the means for the end, the way thither for being there. For want of knowing better, they took nature for their guide: They applied themselves to the consideration of it, by what it has of great and sublime, whilst the Epicurean considered it only by what it has of earthly, animal, and corrupt. Hence they necessarily made man's happiness to consist in virtue.

As to what regards health, riches, reputation, and the like advantages; or diseases, poverty, ignominy, and the other inconveniencies of this kind; Zeno did not place them in the number either of goods or evils, nor make the happiness or misery of mankind depend upon them. He therefore maintained, that \* virtue alone and of itself sufficed to their happiness; and that all the wise, in whatsoever condition they might happen to be, were happy. He however set some, though small, value upon those external goods and evils, which he defined in a manner different, as to the terms, from that of other philosophers, but which at bottom came very near the same opinions.

We may judge of all the rest by a single example. The other philosophers considered pain as a

*De Finib.*

l. 3. n. 43.

45.

\* Virtutis tantam vim esse, ut ad beatè vivendum se ipsa contenta sit.—Sapientes omnes esse semper beatos. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 77.

real

real and solid evil, which extremely incommode the wise man, but which he endeavoured to support with patience; which did not hinder him from being happy, but rendered his happiness less complete. Hence, according to them, a good action, exempt from pain, was preferable to one united with it. The Stoics believed, that such an opinion degraded and dishonoured virtue, to which all external goods joined together added no more than the stars to the lustre of the sun, a drop of water to the vast extent of the ocean, or a mite to the innumerable millions of Cræsus; to use their own comparisons. A wise Stoic therefore reckoned pain as nothing, and, however violent it might be, he was very far from calling it an evil.

Tusc.  
Quæst. l. 3.  
n. 61.

Pompey, in his return from Syria, passed expressly by the way of Rhodes to see the celebrated Stoic Posidonius. When he arrived at the house of that philosopher, he forbade his lictor to strike the door with his wand, as was the custom. \* The person, says Pliny, to whose power the East and West were in subjection, was pleased that the *falces* of his lictor should pay homage to the dwelling of a philosopher. He found him in bed very ill of the gout, which tormented him cruelly. He expressed his concern to see him in that condition, and that he could not hear him as he had promised himself. That, replied the philosopher, depends upon yourself; it shall never be said that my illness occasioned so great a person to come to my house in vain.

He then began a long and grave discourse, wherein he undertook to prove, that there was nothing good but what was honest † And, as he was in ex-

\* Pompeius, confecto Mithridatico bello, intraturus Posidonii sapientiæ professione clari domum, fores percuti de more à lictore vetuit; & falces lictorios januæ submisit is, cui se Oriens Occidentique submiserat. *Plin. l. 7. c. 30.*

† Cumque ei quasi faces doloris admoventur, sæpe dixit: *Nihil agis, dolor; quamvis sis molestus, nunquam te esse confitebor malum.*



effusive pain all over whilst he spoke, he often repeated: *Pain, you do nothing; though you are troublesome, you shall never make me own you an evil.*

Another Stoic was of a better faith. This was <sup>Tusc.</sup> Dionysius of Heraclea, Zeno's disciple, whose doctrine he had long and warmly maintained. \* In <sup>Quæst. n. 6q.</sup> the torments of the stone, which made him cry out terribly, he discovered the falshood of all he had taught in respect to pain. *I have devoted many years, said he, to the study of philosophy, and cannot bear pain. Pain is therefore an evil.*

It is not necessary to ask the reader's judgment of these two philosophers. The character of these false sages of the Pagan world is painted in the most lively colours, in the words and actions of the first. They exhibited themselves as spectacles, and fed themselves up with the attention of others, and the admiration which they believed they occasioned. They bore up against their inward sense through the shame of appearing weak, whilst they concealed their real despair under the appearance of false tranquillity.

It must be confessed that pain is the most dreadful proof of virtue. It plunges its sharpness into the inmost soul: it racks, it torments it, without it being possible to suspend the sense of it: it keeps in spite of it employed by a secret and deep wound, that engrosses its whole attention, and renders time insupportable to it, whilst every instant seems whole years. In vain does human philosophy endeavour, in this condition, to make her wise man appear invulnerable and insensible: she only blows him up with vain presumption, and fills him with force, which is indeed but cruelty. True Religion does not instruct her disciples in this manner. He does not disguise virtue under fine but chime-

\* Cùm ex renibus laboraret, ipso in ejulatu clamitabat, falsa esse la, quæ antea de dolore ipse sensisset.—*Plurimos annos in philosophia consumpsi, nec ferre possum (dolorem) malum est igitur dolor.*

rical appearances. She raises mankind to a state of real greatness; but that is by making them discern and confess their own weakness.

Let us hear Job, the man put to the rudest trial that ever was. He was told by messenger after messenger, almost without any interval, that his flocks and herds were destroyed, his slaves killed or taken, and at last that all his children were crushed to death and buried under the ruins of an house where they were eating together. In the midst of so many heavy unforeseen strokes, so suddenly reiterated, and so capable of shaking a soul of the greatest fortitude, no complaint escaped him. Solely intent upon the duty of that precious moment, he submits to the decrees of providence. *Naked came I into the world, and naked shall I go out of it: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord.* He shews the same submission and constancy after Satan had struck him with biles all over his body, and ulcers to his very marrow, whilst he suffers the most acute pains.

Does Job, in this condition, exhibit himself as a fight, or seek to attract admirers by a vain ostentation of courage? He is far from it. He confesses that his flesh is weak, and himself nothing but weakness. He does not dispute strength with God, and owns that of himself he has neither  
 Job vi. 12, strength, counsel, nor resource. *Is my strength the*  
 13. *strength of stones, or is my flesh of brass? Is there help in me? And is not wisdom driven quite from me?* This is not the language of Pagan philosophy, which is nothing but pride and vanity.

The Stoics made their sage a man absolutely perfect and void of passion, trouble, and defect. It was a vice with them to give the least sense of pity and compassion entrance into the heart. They deemed it the sign of a weak and even bad mind: *Miseratio est vitium pusilli animi, ad speciem alienorum malorum.*

*analarum succidentis : itaque pessimo cuique familiarissima est.* \* Compassion, continues the same Seneca, is a trouble and sadness of the mind, occasioned by the miseries of others : now the wise man is susceptible neither of trouble nor sadness. His soul enjoys always a calm serenity, which no cloud can ever discompose. How can he be moved with the miseries of others, as he is not moved with his own ?

The Stoics reasoned in this manner, because they did not know what man is. They destroyed nature, whilst they pretended to reform it. They reduced their sage to an idol of brass or marble, in hopes to render him firm and constant in his own misfortunes and those of others. For they were for having him equally insensible in both, and that compassion should not make him consider that as a misfortune in his neighbour, which he ought to regard as indifferent in respect to himself. They did not know, that the sentiments they strove to extinguish, were part of the nature of man, and that to root out of his heart the compassion, tenderness, and warm concern with which nature itself inspires us for what happens to our neighbour, was to destroy all the ties of human and civil society.

The chimerical idea which they formed of the supreme perfection of their wise man, was the source from whence flowed the ridiculous opinion they laid down, that all faults were equal. I have shewn the absurdity of that maxim elsewhere.

They maintained another no less absurd, but much more dangerous, and which was a consequence of their opinion upon what constituted the supreme good of man ; a just and solid opinion in some sense, but from which they made a bad in-

\* *Misericordia est ægritudo animi, ob alienarum miseriarum peciem. Ægritudo autem in sapientem virum non cadit. Serena mens est, nec quidquam incidere potest quod illam obducat.—* Hoc sapienti ne in suis quidem accidet calamitatibus, sed omnem fortunæ iram reverberabit, & ante se franget.



ference. They \* pretended, that the supreme good of man ought not to be made to consist in any of those things of which he is capable of being divested against his will, and which are not in his power; but in virtue alone, which depends solely upon himself, and of which no foreign violence can deprive him. It was very clear, that mankind could neither procure for themselves, nor preserve health, riches, and the other advantages of the nature: accordingly they implored the gods for the attainment and preservation of them. These advantages therefore could not compose part of the supreme good. Virtue alone had that privilege, because man is absolutely master of that, and derives it solely from himself. He gives it to himself, according to them; he preserves it himself, and has no occasion to have recourse to the gods for that, as for other good things. *Hoc quidem omnino mortales sic habent, externas commoditates——à deo se habere: virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam dedit retulit.* Never, said they, did any man take it into his head to thank the gods, that he was a good man, as he thanks them for riches, honours, and the health he enjoys. *Num quis, quòd bonus videretur, gratias diis egit unquam? at quòd dives, quòd honoratus, quòd incolumis.* In a word, it is the opinion of all men, that we ought to ask God for the goods of fortune, but, as to wisdom, we derive that only from ourselves. *Judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam à deo petendam, à se ipso sumendam esse sapientiam.*

De nat.  
deor. l. 3.  
n. 86—88.

They carried their frantic pride so high as to set † their sage in this view above God; because God is virtuous and exempt from passion by the

\* Hoc dabitur, ut opinor, si modo sit aliquid esse beatum, oportere totum poni in potestate sapientis. Nam si amitti vita beata potest, beata esse non potest. *De Finib. l. 2. n. 86.*

† Est aliquid quo sapiens antecedit Deum. Ille naturæ beneficium non timet, suo sapiens. *Senec. Epist. 53.*

necessity of his nature, whereas their wise man is so by his own choice and will.

I shall not stop here to observe to the reader, from what I have now said, and what preceded it, unto what absurdities the most esteemed and respected sect amongst the antients, and indeed in some sense the most worthy of esteem and respect, gave unto. Behold what human wisdom is capable of, when abandoned to its own strength and lights, or rather its own impotence and darkness !

It remains for me to relate the opinion of the Peripatetics concerning the supreme good of man.

### S E C T. III.

*Opinion of the Peripatetics concerning the supreme good.*

[ F we may believe Cicero upon this head, the difference between the Stoics and the Peripatetics, upon the question of the supreme good, consists less in things than words, and that the opinions of both amounted to the same sense at bottom. He often reproaches the Stoics with having introduced rather a new language, than new doctrines, into philosophy, that they might seem to vary from those who had preceded them ; which reproach appears to have sufficient foundation.

Both the one and the other agreed as to the principle, upon which the supreme good of man ought to be founded, that is, to live according, or conformably, to nature : *Secundum naturam vivere*. The Peripatetics began by examining what the nature of man is, in order to laying down their principle well. Man, say they, is composed of body and soul : such is his nature. To render him perfectly happy, it is necessary to procure him all the goods both of the body and the soul : that is, to live according to nature, in which both sects agree the supreme good consists. In consequence they reckoned health, riches, reputation, and the other advantages of that kind, in

the number of goods; and, in that of evils, sickness, poverty, ignominy, &c. leaving however an infinite distance between virtue and all other goods, and vice and all other evils. \* These goods which we place amongst those of the body, said they, make the felicity of man perfect, and render his life completely happy; but in such a manner that he is capable of being happy, though not so entirely, without them.

The Stoics thought very near the same, and gave these advantages and inconveniencies of the body some weight, but they could not bear that they should be called goods and evils. If once, said they, pain were to be admitted an evil, it would follow, that the wise man, when in pain, is not happy: for felicity is incompatible with a life wherein there is any evil. People do not reason so, replied the Peripatetics, in any other respect. An estate covered with fine corn in abundance does not cease to be deemed fertile, because it produces some few bad weeds. Some small losses, with considerable gains, do not hinder commerce from being reckoned very advantageous. In every thing, the more outweighs the less, and so is the rule of judging. It is thus in respect to virtue. † Put it into one scale, and the whole world in the other, virtue will always be infinitely the more weighty: a magnificent idea of virtue this!

I should think it abusing the reader's patience, if I bestowed more time in refuting these subtleties and bad chicanes of the Stoics. I only desire him to remember what I have observed from the beginning, that, in this question concerning the supreme good of man, the philosophers, of whatever sect they were, considered that good only in respect to this life. The goods of eternity were either unknown, or indifferent to them.

\* Illa, quæ sunt à nobis bona corporis numerata, complent quidem beatissimam vitam, sed ita, ut sine illis possit beata vivere. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 71.

† Audebo—virtutis amplitudinem quasi in altera libræ lapide ponere. Terram, mihi crede, ea lanx & maria deprimet.



## ARTICLE II.

*Opinions of the antient philosophers upon the virtues and duties of life.*

“**T**HOUGH philosophy, says Cicero, be a Offic. l. 3.  
 “ region wherein there are no uncultivated “ 5.  
 “ lands, and though it is fertile and abundant from  
 “ one end to the other, there is no part of it richer  
 “ than that which treats of the duties of life,  
 “ and lays down rules and precepts for giving our  
 “ manners a certain and constant tenor, and making  
 “ us live according to the laws of reason and vir-  
 “ tue.” It is true that excellent maxims, and such  
 as might make us blush, are to be found upon this  
 head amongst the Pagans. I shall repeat some of  
 them from Plato and Cicero, confining myself more  
 to the thoughts than expressions of the former.

*The end of government is to make the governed happy,  
 in making them virtuous.*

The first care of every man charged with the Plat. de  
 government of others, (which includes all persons Leg. l. 12.  
 in general, whose function it is to command, kings, p. 961, 963.  
 princes, generals, ministers, governors of provinces,  
 magistrates, judges, and fathers of families :) the  
 first care I say of whoever is in any kind of autho-  
 rity, is to lay down well the end he ought to pro-  
 pose to himself in the use of that authority.

What is the end of a man charged with the go- In Alcib.  
 vernment of a state? It is not, says Plato in more p. 134.  
 than one place, to render it rich, opulent, and De Legib.  
 powerful; to make it abound with gold and silver; l. 5. p. 742.  
 to extend its dominion far and wide; to keep up  
 great fleets and armies in it, and thereby render it  
 superior to all others by sea and land. It is easy  
 to perceive that Athens is intended here. He pro-  
 poses something much greater and more solid to  
 himself: that is, to make it happy by making it  
 virtuous;

virtuous; and it can only be so by sincere piety and profound submission in regard to God.

*De Legib.* When we speak, says he elsewhere, of an happy  
*l. 5. p. 420.* city or republic, we do not pretend to confine that felicity only to some particulars, its principal persons, nobility, and magistrates: we understand that all the members of such city or republic are happy, each in their several conditions and degrees and in this the essential duty of a person charged with the government of it consists.

*Ib. p. 964.* It is the same with a city or state, as with the human body. This comparison is entirely just, and abounds with consequences. The body consists of the head and the members, amongst which members some are more noble, more conspicuous, and more necessary than others. Can the body be said to be in health, and good condition, when the least and meanest of the members is diseased and out of order?

*De Rep.* Between all the inhabitants of a city, there is  
*l. 2. p. 369,* mutual relation of wants and assistance, that form  
*374.* an admirable tie of dependence amongst them. The prince, the magistrates, and the rich have occasion for food, cloaths, and lodging. What would they do, if there were not an inferior order of people to supply them with all those necessities? This Providence has taken care of, says Plato, in establishing the different orders and conditions of men by the means of necessity. If all were rich, there would be neither husbandmen, masons, nor artificers: and, if all poor, there would be no princes, magistrates, and generals of armies, to govern and defend the rest. It was this mutual dependence that formed states, and within the compass of the same walls assembled and united a multitude of men of different trades and occupations, all necessary to the public good, and of whom in consequence none ought to be neglected, and still less despised by him who governs. From this multiplicity of talents, conditions, trades, and employments, reduced in  
 form

some measure to unity by this mutual communication and tendency to the same end, results an order, harmony, and concert of wonderful beauty, but which always supposes, that, for the perfection of the whole, it is necessary that each part should have its perfection and ornament.

To return to the comparison of a city or state De Rep. l. 2. p. 961, 964. to the human body, the prince is as the head or soul of it; the ministers, magistrates, generals of armies, and other officers appointed to execute his orders, are his eyes, arms, and feet. It is the prince who is to animate them, put them in motion, and direct their actions. The head is the seat of the understanding; and it is the understanding that regulates the use of the senses, moves the members, and is watchful for their preservation, well-being, and health. Plato uses here the comparison of a pilot, in whose head alone lies the knowledge of steering the vessel, and to whose ability the safety of all on board is confided. How happy is a state, whose prince speaks and acts in this manner!

*Whoever is charged with the care of others, ought to be firmly convinced, that he is designed for inferiors, and not inferiors for him.*

To be convinced of this principle, we have only in my opinion to consult good sense, right reason, and even common experience. It however seldom happens that superiors are truly convinced of it, and make it the rule of their conduct.

Plato, to set this principle in full light, begins by introducing one Thrasymachus into the dialogue, who pleads the cause, or rather makes the Ibid. l. 2. p. 338, &c. apology, of a corrupt government. This man pretends, that, in every government, That ought to be considered as just, which is for the advantage of the government: That he who commands, and is in office, is not so for others, but for himself: That



his will ought to be the rule of all under him : That if strict justice were to be observed, Superiors of all men were the most to be pitied, having for their lot only the cares and anxieties of government, without being in a condition to advance their families, serve their friends, or comply with any recommendation, as they would be bound to act in all things according to the principles of exact and severe justice.

There are few, or rather none, who talk in this manner : but only too many reduce it to practice, and make it the rule of their conduct.

Plato refutes at large all this wretched reasoning, and, according to his custom, makes use of comparisons taken from the common uses of life : I shall content myself here with the following single proof, to shew that those who command are designed for their inferiors, and not their inferiors for those who command.

A pilot takes upon himself the care of a ship with a great number of persons on board, whom different views and interests induce to go to a foreign country. Did it ever enter into the thoughts of any reasonable man to imagine, that the passengers were for the pilot, and not the pilot for the passengers? Would any one venture to say, that the sick whom a physician takes care of are for him? And is it not evident that physicians, as well as the art of physic, are intended solely for restoring health to the sick? Princes are often represented by the antients under the idea of *the shepherds of the people*. The shepherd is certainly for his flock, and nobody is so unreasonable to pretend, that the flock is for the shepherd.

Ποιμενὶς  
ἡκύν.

It is from this doctrine of Plato, that the Roman orator borrowed the important maxim, which he strongly inculcates to Quintus Cicero his brother, in the admirable letter wherein he gives him advice for his good conduct in the government of Asia,

Asia, which had been confided to his care. \* *As for me, says he, I am convinced that the sole end and attention of those in authority ought to be to render all under them as happy as possible—And not only, adds he, those who govern citizens and allies, but whoever has the care of slaves, and even of beasts, ought to procure them all the good and convenience they can, and make their advantage their whole care.*

The natural consequence of this principle, That Plat. de Rep. l. 1. p. 347. Ibid. l. 7. p. 520, 521. all superiors, without exception, are established for the good of those under them, is, that their sole view in the use of their power and authority ought to be the public good. Hence also it follows, that only persons of worth should have great employments; that they should even enter upon them against their will; and that it should be necessary to use a kind of violence to oblige them to accept such offices. And indeed places, wherein nothing is to be seen but pains, labour, and difficulty, are not so desirable as to be sought or solicited. However, says Plato, nothing is more common in our days than to make interest for posts, and to pretend to the highest employments, without any other merit, than an ambition that knows no bounds, and a blind esteem for one's self: and this abuse it is that occasions the misfortunes of states and kingdoms, and terminates at length in their ruin.

*Justice and the faith of engagements are the foundations of society. Sanctity of oaths.*

The firmest tie of society is justice, and the foundation of justice is fidelity to engagements, which Cic. Offic. l. 1. n. 20, 21. faith consists in the inviolable observance of promises given, and treaties made.

\* *Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda ab iis qui præsumunt aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperiis erunt sint quàm beatissimi—Est autem, non modò ejus qui sociis & civibus, sed etiam ejus qui servis, qui mutis pecudibus præsit, eorum quibus præsit commodis utilitatique servire. Cic. Epist. 1 ad Q. Fratr.*

Injustice

Offic. 1. 1.  
n. 41.

Injustice can assume only two different forms, of which the one resembles the fox, and is that of artifice and fraud; and the other the lion, which is that of violence. Both the one and the other are equally unworthy of man, and contrary to his nature: but the most odious and detestable is that of fraud and perfidy, especially when it covers the blackest practices with the outside of probity.

\* All kinds of fraud and artifice should be banished from the commerce of mankind, with that malignant cunning of address, that covers and adorns itself with the name of prudence, but which in reality is infinitely remote from it, and suits † only double-dealing, dark, knavish, malicious, artificial, perfidious people: for all those odious and detestable names scarce suffice to express the character of such as renounce sincerity and truth in the commerce of life.

By what name then must we call those who make a jest of the sanctity of oaths, ‡ which are solemn and religious affirmations, made in the presence, and before the eyes of God, whom we call to witness to them, whom we render in some measure the guarantee for their truth, and who will undoubtedly avenge the sacrilegious abuse of his name?

The regard, due to the Divinity, could not, according to Plato, be carried too far in this respect.

De Leg.

l. 12. p.

948, 949.

It was from this principle he desired that, in trials wherein only temporal interests were concerned, the judges should not require any oath from the parties, in order that they might not be tempted to take false ones, as it happens, says he, with more than half those who are obliged to swear; it being

\* Quocirca astutiæ tollendæ sunt, eaque malitia, quæ vult illa quidem se esse prudentiam, sed abest ab ea, distatque plurimum, *Lib. 3. n. 71.*

† Hoc genus est hominis versuti, obscuri, astuti, fallacis, mali-tiosi, callidi, veteratoris, vafri. *Ibid. n. 57.*

‡ Est jusjurandum affirmatio religiosa. Quod autem affirmatè, quasi Deo teste, promiseris, id tenendum est. *Ibid. n. 104.*



very uncommon and difficult for a man, when his estate, reputation, or life are at stake, to have so great a reverence for the name of God, as not to venture to take it in vain. This delicacy is remarkable in a Pagan, and well worth our serious reflection.

Plato goes still farther. He declares, that not only to swear slightly, and without any important reason, but to use the name of God in familiar discourse and conversation, is to dishonour, and to be wanting in the respect due to the divine Majesty. He would therefore have been far from approving a custom, now very common even amongst persons of worth, of calling frequently upon the name of God, when nothing is less in question than religion.

De Leg.  
l. 12. p.  
917.

*Different duties of civil life. Fine maxims upon virtue.*

Every one ought to consider the common good as the great end of his actions. For, should men know no good but private interest, and be for engrossing every thing to themselves, no kind of society could subsist amongst them.

Offic. l. 3.  
n. 26.

Every thing upon earth was created for the use of man, and men themselves were formed for one another, and for the aid of each other by reciprocal services. Hence we are not to believe, that we were born only for ourselves. Our country, our fathers, mothers, and friends, have a right to whatever we are, and it is our duty to procure them all the advantages in our power.

It is upon these principles of our duty to justice and society, that the Stoics determine many questions of moral philosophy, in a manner that condemns abundance of Christian casuists.

At the time of a famine, a merchant arrives first in a port laden with corn, followed by many others with the same freight. Ought he to declare, that the rest will soon be there; or is it allowable for him to be silent about them, in order to make the better market for himself? The decision is, that he ought

Ibid. n. 50.  
&c.

ought to declare it ; because so the good of human society for which he is born requires.

Offic. 1. 3. n. 91. A man receives bad money in payment. May he give it to others for good, knowing it to be counterfeit ? He cannot, as an honest man.

Ibid. n. 92. Another sells an ingot of gold, taking it for brass. Is the buyer obliged to tell the seller that it is gold, or may he take the advantage of the other's ignorance, and buy that for a crown, which is perhaps worth a thousand ? He cannot in conscience.

Plat. in Criton. p. 49. \* It is an indisputable maxim, says Plato, which ought to serve as a foundation for the whole conduct of civil life, that it is never allowable to hurt any one, nor consequently to return evil for evil, injury for injury, or to take revenge of our enemies, and to make the same misfortunes fall upon them, which they have made us suffer. And this is what right reason teaches us. But the Pagans are not steady upon this refined point of morality. " He " is a good man, says Cicero, who does all the " good in his power, and hurts nobody, unless provoked by injury." *Virum bonum esse, qui proficit quibus possit ; noceat nemini, nisi laceffitus injuria.*

Offic. 1. 3. n. 76. De Legib. l. 5. p. 742. One of the laws of Plato's commonwealth is, that money should never be lent with usury.

Ib. l. 11. p. 913. The goods of another are never to be appropriated to one's own use. " If I had found a treasure, " says Plato, I would not touch it, though the augurs upon being consulted should assure me that " I might apply it to my own use. That treasure " in our coffers is not of so much value as the progress we make in virtue and justice, when we " have the courage to despise it. Besides, if we " appropriate it to our own use, it is a source of " curses to our family."

De Legib. l. 5. p. 914. He judges in the same manner of a thing found in one's way.

\* Ἀρχώμεθα ἐντεῦθεν βελευόμενοι, ὡς ὑδέποτε ὁρῶς ἔχοντες ἔτε τε ἀδικίῃν, ἔτε κακῶς πάσχοντα ἀμύνεσθαι ἀνιδρώντας κακῶς.

All other good things, without virtue, ought to be regarded as real evils. And \* this virtue is neither the gift of nature, the fruit of study, nor the growth of human wit, but an inestimable blessing, which God confers on whom he pleases.

In Menex.  
p. 246.  
In Menon,  
p. 99.

*Contrast between a good man under a load of evils, and a wicked man in the highest affluence and good fortune.*

Plato supposes two men very different in the world's thoughts and treatment of them. The one consummately wicked, without either faith, probity, or honour, but wearing the mask of all those virtues; the other a perfectly good man, (I mean according to the idea of the Pagans) who has no thoughts but to be, not to seem, just.

† The first, for the attainment of his ends, spares neither fraud, injustice, nor calumny, and reckons the greatest crimes as nothing, provided he can but conceal them. With an outside of religion, he affects to adore the gods with pomp and splendour, offering presents and sacrifices to them in greater number, and with more magnificence than any body. By this means deceiving the dim sight of men, that cannot pierce into the heart, he succeeds in heaping up riches, honours, esteem, reputation,

\* Εἰ καλῶς ἐζηήσαμεν, ἀρετὴ ἂν εἴη ἢ τε φύσει ἢ τε διδάκτων· ἀλλὰ θεῖα μοῖρα παραγιγνομένη ἀνευ νῶ, οἷς ἂν παραγίγνηται.

† Quæro, si duo sint, quorum alter optimus vir, æquissimus, summa justitia, singulari fide; alter insignis scelere & audacia: &, si in eo errore sit civitas, ut bonum illum virum sceleratum, facinorosum, nefarium putet: contra autem qui sit improbissimus, existimet esse summa probitate ac fide; proque hac opinione omnium civium, bonus ille vir vexetur, rapiatur, manus ei denique auferantur, effodiantur oculi, damnetur, vinciatur, uratur, exterminetur, egeat, postremò jure etiam optimo omnibus miserrimus esse videatur; contra autem, ille improbus laudetur, colatur, ab omnibus diligatur; omnes ad eum honores, omnia imperia, omnes opes, omnes denique copix conferantur; vir denique optimus omnium existimatione, & dignissimus omni fortuna judicetur: quis tandem erit tam demens, qui dubitet utrum se esse malit? Cic. apud Lactant. divin. Instit. l. 5. c. 12.

powerful



powerful establishments, and multiplying advantageous marriages for himself and his children; in a word, whatever the most splendid fortune includes of what is most soothing and beneficial.

The second, in a supreme degree the good man, simple, modest, reserved, solely intent upon his duty, inviolably attached to justice, far from being honoured and rewarded as he would deserve, (in which case, says Plato, it could not be discerned whether virtue itself, or the honours and rewards consequential upon it, were his motives) is universally in disgrace, blackened with the most odious calumnies, looked upon as the vilest of wretches\* abandoned to the most cruel and ignominious treatment, *thrown into prison, scourged, wounded, and at last nailed to a cross*; whilst he chuses rather to undergo the most cruel torments, than to renounce justice and innocence. Is there any one, cries Cicero, so stupid as to hesitate one moment, which of these two he would rather chuse to resemble?

We are surprised to find sentiments so noble, so exalted, and so conformable to right reason and justice, amongst the Pagans. We should remember, that, notwithstanding the general corruption and darkness which had overspread the Pagan world, the light of the Eternal Word did not fail to shine out to a certain degree in their minds:

John i. 5. *And the light shineth in darkness.* It is that light which discovers and makes known to them various truths, and the principles of the law of nature. It is that light which writes it in their hearts, and gives them the discernment of many things just and unjust: which makes St. Augustine say, *Let the wicked see in THE BOOK OF THE LIGHT in what manner they ought to live.*

In libro  
lucis.

\* Οὗτο διακείμενος ὁ δίκαιος μαρτυρώσεται, σρεβλώσεται, δεδήσεται, ἐκκαυθήσεται τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ· τελευτῶν, πᾶν ἅλα κακὰ παθὼν, ἀνασχινδισθῆσεται. Id est, suspenditur.

Now,

Now, when we see in Greece crowds of learned men, a people of philosophers, who succeed one another during four entire ages; who employ themselves solely in inquiring after truth; who most of them, for succeeding the better therein, renounce their fortunes, country, settlement, and all other employments except that of applying to the study of wisdom: Can we believe so singular and even unexampled an event, which never happened in any other part or time of the world, the effect of chance, and that Providence had neither any share in it, nor intended it for any end? It had not destined the philosophers to reform the errors of mankind. Those great wits disputed four hundred years almost, without agreeing upon and concluding any thing. None of their schools undertook to prove the unity of the Godhead, none of them ever so much as thought of advancing the necessity of a Mediator. But how useful were their moral precepts upon the virtues and duties, in preventing the inundation of vice? What horrid disorders had taken place, had the Epicureans been the prevailing and only sect? How much did their inquiries contribute to the preservation of the important doctrines of the distinction between matter and mind, of the immortality of the soul, and the existence of a Supreme Being? Many of them had admirable principles upon all these points *which God had made known unto them*, Rom. i. 19. preferable to so many other people whom he left in barbarity and ignorance.

As this knowledge of theirs, and the virtuous actions consequential upon it, may be considered under a double point of view; it ought also to produce two quite different effects in us. If we consider it as an emanation of that eternal light, *which shineth even in darkness*, who can doubt whether it be worthy of our esteem and admiration? But if we consider it in the principle from whence it proceeded, and

St. Au-  
gustin.

and the abuse made of it by the Pagans, it cannot be praised without reserve and exception. It is by the same rule we are to judge of all that we read in profane history. The most shining actions of virtue which it relates are always infinitely remote from pure and real virtue, because not directed to their principle, and having their root in cupidity, that is to say, pride and self-love. *Radicata est cupiditas : species potest esse bonorum factorum, verè opera bona esse non possunt.* The root is not judged by the branches, but the branches by the root. The blossoms and even fruit may seem like : but their root is highly different. *Noli attendere quod floret foris, sed quæ radix est interna.* Not what these actions have of real, but what is defective in them ought to be condemned. It is not what they have but what they want, that makes them vicious. And what they want is Charity, that inestimable gift, of which the want cannot be supplied by any other and which is not to be found out of the Christian Church and the true religion. Accordingly we see that none of the Pagans, who in other respects have laid down very fine rules of duty between man and man, have made the love of God the fundamental principle of their morality : none of them have taught the necessity of directing the actions of human probity to him. They knew the branches, but not the stem and trunk of moral perfection.



## ARTICLE. III.

*Of Jurisprudence, or the Civil Law.*

**I** Annex the knowledge of laws to moral philosophy, of which it is a part, or at least to which it has a great relation. It is a subject of great extent, but I shall treat it very succinctly. The memoirs with which an able professor of law, Mr. Lorry, one of my very good friends, has supplied me, have been of great use to me.

By the knowledge of the law, I mean the knowledge of Right, of Laws in general. Every people have had their particular laws and legislators. Moses is the most antient of them all: God himself dictated the laws it was his will that his people should observe. Mercurius Trismegistus amongst the Egyptians, Minos amongst the inhabitants of the island of Crete, Pythagoras amongst the cities of Great Greece, Charondas and Zaleucus in the same country, Lycurgus at Sparta, and Draco and Solon at Athens, are the most celebrated Legislators of Pagan antiquity. As I have spoken of them with sufficient extent in the course of this history, I proceed directly to the Romans.

The beginnings of the Roman civil law were little extensive. Under the kings, Rome had only a small number of laws, which were proposed at first by the senate, and afterwards confirmed in the assembly of the people. Papirius, who lived in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, was the first that collected the laws made by the kings into one body. That collection was called, from the name of its author, *Jus Papirianum*, *The Papirian law*.

The commonwealth, after having abolished the power of kings, retained their laws for some time: but they were afterwards expressly abolished by the Tribunitian law, in hatred to the name of kings.

From that time it used an uncertain kind of Right till the twelve tables, which were prepared by the Decemviri, and composed out of the laws of Athens and the principal cities of Greece, into which deputies had been sent to collect such as they should judge the wisest and best adapted to a republican government. \* These laws were the foundation and source of the whole Roman civil law; and Cicero † is not afraid to prefer them infinitely to all the writings and books of the philosophers, as well in respect to the weight of their authority, as the extent of the utility deducible from them.

The brevity, and at the same time the severity, of the law of the twelve tables, made way for the interpretation of the learned, and the prætor's Edicts. The first employed themselves in explaining their spirit and intention: the second in softening their rigour, and supplying what might have been omitted.

The laws, in process of time, having multiplied to infinity in a manner, the study of them became absolutely necessary, and at the same time very difficult. Persons of birth, capacity, learning, and love for the public good, distinguished by the name of Civilians, applied wholly to this study. The young Romans, who designed to open themselves a way to the great offices of the commonwealth by the talent of eloquence, which was the first step to them, went to the houses of these civilians in order to acquire their first knowledge of the law, without which it was not possible for them to succeed at the

\* Qui nunc quoque in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique est juris. *Liv. l. 3. n. 34.*

† Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod sentio. Bibliothecas mehercule omnium philosophorum unus mihi videtur XII tabularum libellus, si quis legum fontes & capita viderit, & auctoritatis pondere, & utilitatis ubertate superare. *De Orat. l. 1. n. 195.*

bar. ‡ Private persons in all their affairs had recourse to them, and their houses were regarded as the oracles of the whole city, from whence answers were brought, which determined doubts; calmed dissensions, and directed the methods it was necessary to take in the prosecution of all suits.

These answers were no more than opinions, which might inform the judges, but imposed no necessity upon them of following them. Augustus was the first who gave them more authority, in appointing civilians himself, that were no longer limited to serve as council to particulars, but were held the emperor's officers. From thenceforth, their opinions reduced to writing, and sealed with the public authority, had the force of laws, to which the Emperors obliged the judges to conform.

The civilians published various works under different titles, which have contributed exceedingly to reducing the knowledge of the civil law into art and method.

*These laws*, in process of time, multiplied extremely, and made way for doubts and difficulties by contradictions supposed or real. In such cases recourse was had to the prince; who gave the solution of them. He adjudged also by decrees the causes referred to him by appeal, and answered by rescripts all the consultations addressed to him by petition or memorial. And from thence partly came the Constitutions of the Emperors, so full of wisdom and equity, from which the body of the Roman or Civil law has been formed.

To form these decisions with the greater maturity; they called in the assistance of the most learned civilians. and did not give their answers, till after having concerted them well with all the persons in

\* Est sine dubio domus jurisconsulti totius oraculum civitatis, unde cives sibi consilium expetant suarum rerum incerti: quos ego (it is Crassus that speaks) mea ope ex incertis certos compotesque consilii dimitto, ut ne res temerè traherent turbidas. De Orat. l. i. n. 199, 200.



the empire who were best versed in the laws and rights of the public.

I shall say a few words in this place upon the most celebrated civil lawyers of the later times.

A.D. 205. PAPINIAN (*Æmilius*) was in great consideration with the emperor Severus, whom he had succeeded in the office of Fiscal advocate. He was looked upon as the asylum of the laws, and the repository of the whole knowledge of them. The emperor  
 Cod. Th. Valentinian III. raised him above all the civilians,  
 1.T.4.1.1. in ordaining, by his law of the 7th of November 426, that, when they were divided upon any point, they should follow the opinion espoused by that eminent genius, as he calls him. And indeed  
 Cuj. in Cujas judges him the most profound civilian that  
 Cod. Th. ever was, or ever will be.

The Emperor Severus, being willing to raise his great merit to equal dignity, made him *Præfectus prætorio*, of which one of the principal functions was to judge causes jointly with the emperor, or in his name. Papinian, to acquit himself the better in that office, took Paulus and Ulpian for his counsellors and judges assistant, whose names are also very famous amongst the civilians.

Dio. l. 77. Severus, at his death, left two sons, Caracalla  
 p. 870, &c. and Geta. Though they had both the name, Dion assures us that only Caracalla had the power, of emperor, who soon ridded himself of his colleague in the most cruel and barbarous manner conceivable; for he caused him to be assassinated in the arms of their common mother, and, according to some, killed him with his own hands.

Caracalla murdered all whom his brother had loved, and who had either served or retained to him, without distinction of age, sex, or quality; and Dion says, that he began with twenty thousand  
 Cæsariani. of his domestics and soldiers. To mention or write the name of Geta sufficed for being immediately  
 butchered;

butchered ; so that the poets dared not use it even in comedies, where it was commonly given to slaves.

Papinian could not escape his cruelty. It is said, that Caracalla would have obliged him to compose a discourse to excuse the death of Geta either to the senate or people, and that he generously replied : *It is not so easy to excuse, as to commit, parricide* ; and, *To accuse an innocent person, after having deprived him of his life, is a second parricide*. He remembered without doubt, that Seneca had been Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 11. very much blamed, for having composed a letter for Nero to the senate, to justify the assassination of his mother. The son of Papinian, who was then quæstor, and had three days before exhibited magnificent games, was also killed.

FABIUS SABINUS. The Emperor Heliogabalus A. D. 221. having ordered a centurion to go and kill Sabinus, that officer, who was a little deaf, believed that he had bade him make Sabinus quit the city. The centurion's error saved the life of Sabinus, who passed for the Cato of his times. The Emperor Alexander, who succeeded Heliogabalus, placed him in the number of those next his person, and whose counsel he took for governing wisely.

ULPIAN (*Domitius Ulpianus*) descended originally A. D. 222. from the city of Tyre. He had been counsellor, and judge assistant to Papinian, in the time of Severus. When Alexander came to the empire, he placed him near his person, in quality of counsellor of state, and to take care of all things referred to his judgment, which employment is evidently that since called Great Referendary. He afterwards made him *Præfectus prætorio*. Scriniorum magister.

Lampridius places him at the head of those In Alex. vit. wise, learned, and faithful persons, who composed Alexander's council ; and assures us that prince paid him greater deference than any body else, upon account of his extraordinary love of justice ; that he conversed only with him in private ; that

he looked upon him as his tutor; and that he proved an excellent emperor, from making great use of Ulpian's counsels in the government of the empire.

As Ulpian endeavoured to re-establish discipline amongst the Prætorian soldiers, they rose against him, and demanded his death of Alexander. Instead of granting their request, he often covered him with his purple robe, to defend him against the effects of their fury. At length, having attacked him in the night, he was obliged to fly to the palace to implore the aid of Alexander and Mammæa. But all the awe of the imperial authority could not save him, and he was killed by the soldiers, even in the sight of Alexander. Several of Ulpian's works are still extant.

In Alex.  
vit.

PAULUS. (*Julius Paulus*.) He was of Padua, where his statue is still to be seen. He was nominated consul under Alexander, and then *Præfectus prætorio*. He, as well as Sabinus and Ulpian, was of the council formed by Mammæa the mother, and Mæsa the grandmother of Alexander, to administer the public affairs during the minority of that prince. Every body knows the great services they did, and the reputation they acquired, him. The Roman empire had at that time every thing that could render a state happy, a very good prince, and excellent ministers: for the one is of small utility without the other; and perhaps it is even more dangerous to the people to have a prince good of himself, but who suffers himself to be deceived by bad men, than to have one more wicked, who however inspects into the conduct of his officers, and obliges them to do their duty. Alexander always set great value upon the merit of Paulus, who is said to have written more than any other civilian.

POMPONIUS was also of Alexander's court and council. How happy was this reign! As he lived to the age of seventy-eight, he composed a great  
number



number of works. Amongst the rest, he made a collection of all the famous civilians down to the Emperor Julian.

MODESTINUS (*Herennius*) lived also in the reign of Alexander, who raised him to the consulship. He, as well as the four preceding lawyers, was Papinian's disciple, whose care formed them all in the knowledge of the civil law. What services does a single man sometimes render a state by his learning and pupils!

TREBONIAN was of Pamphylia. He was honoured with the first employments at Constantinople by the emperor Justinian. It was under that prince, and by his care, that the civil law took a new form, and was reduced into an order that still subsists, and will for ever do him honour.

Before him, there were many *Codes*, which were either compiled from, or abridgments of, the Roman laws. Gregorius and Hermogenes, two civilians, made a collection of laws, which from their names was called *The Gregorian and Hermogenian Code*. It was a collection of the Constitutions of the Emperors, from Adrian down to Dioclesian and Maximin in 306. This work was of no use, for want of authority to cause it to be observed. The Emperor Theodosius the Younger was the first who composed a *Code* in sixteen books, consisting of the Constitutions of the Emperors from Constantine the Great down to him; and he abrogated all laws not comprised in this system, which is called *The Theodosian Code*, and was published in 438.

And, lastly, the Emperor Justinian, seeing the authority of the Roman law much weakened in the West, from the decline of the empire, resolved to cause the whole body of the Roman law to be compiled a-new. He charged Trebonian with this commission, who called in the aid of the most learned civilians then in being. He chose the finest of

the Imperial Constitutions from Adrian down to his own time, and published this new *Code* in 529.

He afterwards undertook a new work by order of the emperor: this was to extract the finest decisions from the two thousand volumes of the antient civilians, and to reduce them into one body, which was published in 533, under the name of *The Digest*. The Emperor gave this collection the force of law by the letter which he placed in front of the work, and which serves it for a preface. It is called also *The Pandect*. The Digest consists of fifty books.

The same year appeared the *Institutes* of Justinian, a book which contains the elements and principles of the Roman or civil law.

The year following, that is to say in 534, the emperor made some alterations in his first Code, which he abolished, and substituted a new one in its stead, to which alone he gave the authority of law.

And, lastly, after this revisal, Justinian published an hundred and sixty-five constitutions, and thirteen edicts, which are called *Novellæ*, *the Novels*, either because they make a considerable change in the antient law; or, according to Cujas, because they were made upon new cases, and compiled after the revisal of the Code by the order of that emperor. Most of the *Novels* were written in Greek, and were translated into Latin.

The body of the civil law therefore consists of four parts, the Code, the Digest, the Institutes, and the Novels. By the *Civil Law*, the Institutes understand the laws peculiar to each city or people. But at present it is properly the Roman law, contained in the Institutes, the Digest, and the Code, It is otherwise called *the Written Law*.

From all that I have now said may be seen, what services a prince may render his people, who applies himself seriously to the cares of government, and who is well convinced of the extent and importance

portance of his duties. Justinian had been very successful in the wars he had undertaken, and had \* the wisdom to ascribe that success neither to the number of his troops, the courage of his soldiers, the experience of his generals, nor his own talents and abilities; but solely to the protection with which God had vouchsafed to favour his arms. But, had he contented himself with this military glory, he would have thought, that he had only half discharged the functions of sovereignty, which was principally established for rendering justice to the people in the name and place of God himself. Accordingly he declares expressly in a public edict, that the † Imperial Majesty ought not to be adorned with arms only, but armed also with laws, for the good government of the people, as well in peace as war.

Accordingly, after having restored peace to the provinces of the empire as a warrior, he turned his thoughts to the regulation of its polity as a legislator, by instituting an universal body of law, to serve as the rule of all tribunals: a work which had been much the object of the wishes of his predecessors, as himself observes in more than one place, but which seemed attended with so many difficulties, that they had always believed it impracticable. He surmounted them all with a constancy that nothing was capable of discouraging.

For succeeding in this important enterprise he employed all the most learned civilians in the whole extent of the empire, ‡ presiding himself in the work,  
and

\* Ita nostros animos Dei omnipotentis erigimus adjutorium, ut neque armis confidamus, neque nostris militibus, neque bellorum ducibus, vel nostro ingenio; sed omnem spem ad solam referamus summæ providentiæ Trinitatis. *Epist. ad Trebon.*

† Imperatoriam majestatem non solum armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam, ut utrumque tempus, & bellorum & pacis, rectè possit gubernari. *Epist. ad cupidam legum juventutem.*

‡ Nostra quoque majestas semper investigando & perscrutando ea quæ ab his componebantur, quicquid dubium & incertum inveniebatur



and revising exactly all they composed. Far from ascribing the honour of it to himself, as is usual enough, he does them all justice; he mentions them with praises, he extols their erudition, he treats them almost as his colleagues, and recommends it, as a duty, to thank the Divine Providence for having supplied him with such aids, and for having honoured his reign by the composition of a work so long desired, and so useful and necessary for the due administration of justice. An emperor, of less zeal for the public good, and less liberality, than Justinian, would have left all those civilians in obscurity and inaction. How many excellent talents of all kinds remain buried, for want of patrons to produce them! The learned are not wanting to princes, but princes to the learned.

The great qualities and actions of Justinian would have recommended him for ever to the veneration of mankind, if his conduct, in respect to Ecclesiastical affairs, had not sullied his glory.

I shall conclude this article upon the knowledge of civil law, with some extracts from laws, that may give the reader an idea of the beauty and solidity of the different Institutions of which I have been speaking.

*Digna vox est majestate regnantis, legibus alligatum se Principem profiteri: adeo de auctoritate juris nostre pendet auctoritas. Et, re vera, majus imperio est submittere legibus principatum; Et oraculo præsentis Edicti quod nobis licere non patimur, aliis indicamus.* “ It is  
 “ worthy of the majesty of a prince to declare him-  
 “ self bound and limited by the laws: so much  
 “ does our authority depend on Right and Justice  
 “ And indeed to submit the sovereign power to the  
 “ laws is greater than to exercise it; wherefore we  
 “ are well satisfied to make known to others, by  
 “ the present edict, what we do not think lawfu-

batur—emendabat, & in competentem formam redigebat. *Epist ad senat. Et omnes populos.*

“ fo

“ for us to do.” It is an Emperor, master of almost the universe, who speaks thus, and who is not afraid of hurting his authority, by declaring the just bounds by which it is limited.

*Rescripta contra jus elicita ab omnibus Judicibus re- futari præcipimus; nisi fortè sit aliquid, quod non lædat alium, & profit petenti, vel crimen supplicantibus indul- geat.* “ We ordain, that no judge shall have any regard to rescripts obtained from us contrary to justice, unless they tend to granting some grace to petitioners not to the hurt of others, or to re- mitting some punishment to suppliants.” It is very uncommon for princes either to own that they have deceived themselves, or been deceived by others, and to retract in consequence what they have once decreed. Nothing however does them more honour than such an acknowledgment, as we see in the example of Artaxerxes, who publicly revoked the unjust Decree he had been misled into passing against the Jews.

*Scire leges non hoc est verba earum tenere, sed vim ac potestatem.* “ To know the laws is not only to understand the words of which they are com- posed, but their force and efficacy.”

*Non dubium est in legem committere eum, qui verba legis amplexus, contra legis nititur voluntatem; nec pœ- nas insertas legibus evitabit, qui se contra juris senten- tiam sæva prærogativa verborum fraudulenter excusat.*

“ It is not to be doubted, but that he acts con- trary to the law, who, confining himself to the letter, acts contrary to the spirit and intent of it; and whoever, to excuse himself, endeavours fraudulently to elude the true sense of a law by a rigorous attachment to the words of it, shall not escape its penalties by such prevarication.”

*Nulla juris ratio, aut æquitatis benignitas patitur, ut, quæ salubriter pro utilitate hominum introducuntur, ea nos durior interpretatione contra ipsorum commodum producamus ad severitatem.* “ It is contrary to all  
“ justice

“ justice and equity, that those things which have  
 “ been wisely instituted for the good of mankind,  
 “ should be wrested to their prejudice by a mistaken  
 “ severity, and a too rigid interpretation.”

*Observandum est jus reddenti, ut in adeundo quidem facilem se præbeat, sed contemni non patiatur. Unde mandatis adjicitur, ne in ulteriorem familiaritatem provinciales admittant : nam ex conversatione æquali contemptio dignitatis nascitur. Sed & in cognoscendo, neque excandescere adversus eos quos malos putat, neque precibus calamitosorum illacrymari oportet. Id enim non est constantis & recti judicis, cujus animi motum vultus detegit ; & summatim ita jus reddi debet, ut auctoritatem dignitatis ingenio suo augeat.* “ The person who administers justice ought indeed to be  
 “ easy of access, but should not suffer himself to  
 “ be despised by making himself too cheap. Hence  
 “ it is, that, in the instructions given to provincial  
 “ governors and magistrates, it is recommended to  
 “ them, not to admit the people of their provinces  
 “ into too great a degree of familiarity, because  
 “ conversing as equals induces contempt of dig-  
 “ nity. In rendering justice, he ought also nei-  
 “ ther to express great indignation against such as  
 “ he believes criminal, nor suffer himself to be  
 “ softened too much by the prayers of the unfor-  
 “ tunate. For it does not become the constancy  
 “ and gravity of an upright judge to discover the  
 “ sentiments of his heart in his countenance : in a  
 “ word, he ought to dispense justice in such a  
 “ manner as to exalt the authority of his office by  
 “ the wisdom and moderation of his conduct.”

Ulpianus.

*Quæ sub conditione jurisjurandi relinquuntur, à Præ-  
 tore reprobantur. Providit enim is qui sub jurisjurandi  
 conditione quid accepit, aut omittendo conditionem per-  
 deret hæreditatem legatumve, aut cogeretur turpiter, ac-  
 cipiendo conditionem, jurare. Voluit ergo eum, cui sub  
 jurisjurandi conditione quid relictum est, ita capere, ut  
 capiunt hi, quibus nulla talis jurisjurandi conditio inse-  
 ritur :*



itur: & rectè. Cùm enim faciles sint nonnulli hominum ad jurandum contemptu religionis, alii perquam timidi metu divini Numinis usque ad superstitionem: ne vel hi, vel illi, aut consequerentur, aut perderent quod electum est, Prætor consultissimè intervenit. The tendency of this law is admirable. It dispenses with a person's taking an oath, to whom an estate or legacy has been left, upon condition of taking such oath; and ordains, that he shall enjoy such estate or legacy, as if such condition had not been inserted, lest it should occasion him either to swear contrary to his conscience, or to renounce his right through an over-scrupulous or superstitious delicacy of conscience. It were to be wished, that the spirit of this law should occasion the abundance of useless oaths to be abolished, which bad custom has introduced into all the trading societies and companies of France.

*Advocati, qui dirimunt ambigua fata causarum, suæque defensionis viribus in rebus sæpe publicis ac privatis oppressa erigunt, fatigata reparant, non minùs provident humano generi, quàm si præliis atque vulneribus patriam parentisque salvarent. Nec enim solos nostro imperio militari credimus illos, qui gladiis, clypeis. & thoracibus nituntur, sed etiam advocatos. Militant namque patroni causarum, qui gloriosæ vocis confisi munimine, laborantium spem, vitam, ac posteros defendunt.* “Advocates, who terminate causes, of which the events are always uncertain, and who by the force of their eloquence, whether in respect to the public, which often happens, or private persons, reinstate ruinous affairs, render no less service to mankind, than if they defended their country and parents in battle, at the expence of their blood and wounds. For we rank, in the number of those who fight for our empire, not only such as act for it with sword, harness, and shield, but those also who lend our subjects  
“ the

“ the noble aid of eloquence, in defence of their  
 “ lives, interests, and posterity.”

It is with reason that the prince bestows such fine praises on a profession which makes so salutary an use of the talents of the mind, and that he equals it with whatever is greatest in the state. But at the same time he recommends to advocates the exercise of so illustrious a profession with a noble disinterestedness, and not to disgrace it by a base devotion to sordid interest: *Ut non ad turpe compendium stitemque deformem hæc arripiatur occasio, sed laudem per eam augmenta quærantur. Nam si lucro pecuniæque capiantur, veluti abjecti atque degeneres inter vilissimos numerabuntur.* He also exhorts them not to abandon themselves to the inhuman itch and pleasure of bitter raillery and gross invective, which only lessen the weight of the advocate's discourse in the esteem of his hearers; but to confine themselves strictly to what the necessity and success of cause requires: *Ante omnia autem universi advocati ita præbeant patrocinia jurgantibus, ut non ultra quàm litium poscit utilitas, in licentiam convitiandi & maledicentæ temeritate prorumpant. Agant quod causa desiderat, temperent ab injuria. Nam si quis adeo procax fuerit, ut non ratione sed probris putet esse certandum, opinionis suæ imminutionem patietur.*

## CHAPTER III.

*Opinions of the antient philosophers concerning  
METAPHYSICS and PHYSICS.*

I HAVE already observed that Metaphysics were included in the Physics of the antients. I shall examine four points in them. The existence and attributes of the Divinity; the formation of the World; the nature of the Soul; and the effects of Nature.

## ARTICLE I.

*Of the existence and attributes of the Divinity.*

THE opinions of the antient philosophers concerning the Divinity may be reduced to three principal points or questions. 1. Whether the Divinity exists? 2. What is his nature? 3. Whether he presides over the government of the world, and makes the affairs of mankind his care?

Before I enter into the chaos of philosophical opinions, it will not be improper to explain in few words the state of the belief of the whole world in respect to the Divinity, as the philosophers found it, when they first began to introduce their maxims upon this point by the sole method of *reasoning*; and to slight the common and popular belief of all the nations of the universe, even to the most barbarous, which had supported itself in a constant and uniform manner by *tradition* alone.

Before the philosophers, the whole world agreed in believing a Supreme Being, omnipresent, and attentive to the prayers of all who invoked his name, in whatsoever condition they might be, in the midst of deserts, in the violence of storms at sea,  
and



and in the gloom of dungeons ; so good as to concern himself for the misfortunes of men, with power to deliver them out of them : the dispenser of victory, success, abundance, and every kind of prosperity : the arbiter of the seasons, and of the fecundity of man and beast : presiding at the conventions and treaties made either between kings or private persons : receiving their oaths, exacting the execution, and punishing with inexorable severity the least violation of them : giving or taking away courage, presence of mind, expedients, good counsel, and attention and docility to wise advice : protecting the innocent, the weak, and the injured, and declaring himself the avenger of oppression, violence, and injustice : judging kings and nations, deciding their lot and destiny, and assigning with absolute power the extent and duration of kingdoms and empires.

Such were part of the thoughts which men generally had of the Divinity, even in the midst of the darkness of Paganism, which may serve as a summary of the ideas they had derived from an universal and perpetual tradition, undoubtedly as ancient as the world, upon this head. That this is true, we have incontestable proofs in the poems of Homer, the most venerable monument of Pagan antiquity, and which may be considered as the archives of the religion of those remote times.

## S E C T. I.

### *Of the existence of the Divinity.*

**T**HE philosophers were much divided concerning different points of philosophy, but they all agreed in respect to the existence of the Divinity, except a very small number, of whom I shall soon speak. Though these philosophers, by their inquiries and disputes, added nothing at bottom to what all nations believed before them upon th

this head, those inquiries and disputes cannot however be said to be useless. They served to confirm mankind in their antient belief, and to obviate the pernicious subtilties of those who would attack it. The union of so many persons generally esteemed for the solidity of their sense, their indefatigable application to study, and the vast extent of their knowledge, added new weight to the common and antiently received opinion concerning the existence of the Divinity. The philosophers supported this opinion with many proofs, some more subtle and abstracted, and others more popular and obvious to the understanding of the vulgar. I shall content myself with pointing out some few of the latter kind.

The constant and general concurrence of men of all ages and countries in the firm belief of the existence of the Divinity seemed to them an argument, to which it was impossible to object any thing with sense or reason. The opinions that have no other foundation but vulgar error and credulous prejudice, may indeed continue for some time, and prevail in certain countries: but soon or late they give way, and lose all belief. \* Epicurus founded the proof of the existence of the gods upon nature's having stamp'd the idea of them on every mind. Without the idea of a thing, said he, we can neither conceive, speak of, nor dispute about it. Now what people, what kind of men, have not an idea, a notion of gods, independently of all learning? That is not an opinion derived from education,

\* Epicurus solus vidit primùm esse deos, quòd in omnium animis eorum notionem impressisset ipsa natura. Quæ est enim gens, aut quod genus hominum, quod non habeat sine doctrina anticipationem quandam deorum? quam appellat πρόληψις Epicurus, id est antceptam animo quandam informationem, sine qua nec intelligi quidquam, nec quæri, nec disputari possit—Cum ergo non instituto aliquo, aut more, aut lege sit opinio constituta, maneatque ad unum omnium firma consensus, intelligi necesse est esse deos: quoniam insitas eorum, vel potiùs innatas cognitiones habemus. De quo autem omnium natura consentit, id verum esse necesse est. *Ibid.*

l. 1. n. 43, 44.

custom, or any human law; but the firm and unanimous belief of all mankind: it is therefore from notions implanted in our souls, or rather innate, that we conceive there are gods. Now all judgments of nature, when universal, are necessarily true.

Another argument, which the philosophers more frequently used, because evident to the most simple, is the contemplation of nature. The least practised in reasoning may at a single view discover him, who paints himself in all his works. The wisdom and power he has shewn, in all he has done, shew themselves, as in a glass, to such as cannot contemplate him in his proper idea. This is an obvious and popular philosophy, of which every man void of passion and prejudice is capable. The heavens, earth, stars, plants, animals, our bodies, our minds, all argue a mind superior to us that exists as the soul of the whole world. When we consider with some attention the frame and architecture of the universe, and the just proportion of all its parts, we discover at the first glance the foot-steps of the divinity, or, in better terms, the seal of God himself impressed upon all things called the works of nature.

De nat.  
deor. l. 2.  
n. 4, 5.

“ Can one, said Balbus in the name of the  
“ Stoics, behold heaven, and contemplate what  
“ passes there, without discerning with all possible  
“ evidence, that it is governed by a supreme di-  
“ vine intelligence? Whoever should doubt it  
“ might as well doubt, whether there be a sun.  
“ The former is more visible than the latter. This  
“ conviction, without the evidence that attends it,  
“ would never have been so fixed and permanent:  
“ it would not have acquired new force by length  
“ of time; it would not have been able to resist  
“ the torrent of years, and to have passed through  
“ all ages down to us.

Ib. l. 2.  
n. 16.

“ If there be, said Chrysippus, things in the uni-  
“ verse, that the wit, reason, strength, and power

“ O



“ of man are not capable of effecting, the Being  
 “ that produces them is certainly better than man.  
 “ Now man could not form the heavens, nor any  
 “ thing of what we see invariably regular. There  
 “ is however nothing better than man, because he  
 “ alone possesses reason, which is the most excellent  
 “ thing he can possess. In consequence the Being  
 “ that made the universe is better than man.  
 “ Wherefore then should we not say, that Being  
 “ is a God ?”

To what blindness, or, more properly, to what excess of stupidity must men have been abandoned, who could chuse to attribute such stupendous and inconceivable effects to mere chance, and a fortuitous concourse of atoms, rather than to the infinite wisdom and power of God ?

“ Is it not amazing,” cries Balbus in speaking of Democritus, “ that there ever should be a man  
 “ who could persuade himself, that certain solid  
 “ and individual bodies set themselves in motion  
 “ by their natural weight, and that from their fortuitous concourse a world of such great beauty  
 “ was formed ? Whoever believes this possible,  
 “ might as well believe, that, if a great number of  
 “ characters of gold, or any other substances, representing the \* one and twenty letters, were  
 “ thrown upon the ground, they might fall disposed in such order, as to form the annals of  
 “ Ennius legibly.”

De nat.  
deor. l. 2.  
n. 93.

The same thing may be said of Homer's Iliad. Who could believe, says the Archbishop of Cambray, in his admirable treatise upon the existence of God, that a poem so perfect was not composed by the efforts of a great poet's genius ; but that, the

\* The president Boubier, in his learned dissertation, De prisca Græcor. & Latin. literis, printed at the end of Montfaucon's Antiquities, has shewn, that the antient Romans had only these sixteen letters : A. B. C. D. E. F. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. R. S. T. The five others, added in the time of Cicero, were G. Q. U. X. Z. without reckoning H, which was less a letter, than a note of aspiration.

characters of the alphabet having been thrown in confusion, a cast of mere chance, like one of dice, disposed all the letters exactly in the order necessary for describing so many great events in verses full of harmony and variety; for placing and connecting them all so well together; for painting each object in the most graceful, most noble, and most affecting colours conceivable; and, lastly, for making each person speak according to his character in so natural and pathetic a manner? Let a man reason and subtilise ever so long, he will never persuade a person of sense, that the Iliad had no other author but chance. Wherefore then should this man of sense believe of the universe, which without doubt is still more wonderful than the Iliad, what his reason would never permit him to believe of that poem?

In this manner all the most famous sects explained themselves. Some philosophers, as I have said before, but very few, undertook to distinguish themselves from the rest by peculiar opinions upon this subject. Abandoned to the feeble force of reason, in their attempts to fathom the nature and essence of the Divinity, and to explain his attributes, and without doubt dazzled with the lustre of an object of which the human eye cannot sustain the radiance they lost themselves in their inquiries, and, from doubting at first the existence of the Divinity, proceeded so far by degrees as to deny it. But the people, who did not enter into these philosophica subtilties and refinements, and adhered solely to immemorial tradition, and the natural notion implanted in the hearts of all men, rose up vigorously against these teachers of atheism, and treated them as the enemies of mankind.

De nat.  
deor. l. 1.  
n. 63.

PROTAGORAS having begun one of his books with these words: *I neither know whether there are gods, nor what they are*; the Athenians banished him

him not only from their city, but their territory, and caused his works to be publicly burnt.

DIAGORAS did not confine himself to doubting: he plainly denied that there were gods; which occasioned his being surnamed *the Atheist*. He lived A. M. 3588. Hesych. in. Δίαγόρας. in the XC1st Olympiad. It is said that the fondness of an author, an excessive tenderness for one of his productions, drew him into impiety. He had prosecuted a poet for stealing a composition of his in verse. The latter swore he had robbed him of nothing, and soon after published that work in his own name, which acquired him great reputation. Diagoras, seeing his adversary's crime not only unpunished, but honoured and rewarded, concluded that there was no providence and no gods, and wrote books to prove it.

The Athenians cited him to give an account of his doctrine; but he fled, upon which they set a price upon his head. They caused a talent (about 150l. sterling) to be promised by sound of trumpet to whoever should kill him, and two to such as should bring him alive, and caused that decree to be engraved upon a pillar of brass.

THEODORUS of Cyrene denied also the existence A. M. 3684. Diog. Laert. l. 2. in Aristip. of gods without restriction. He would have been brought to the tribunal of the Areopagus, if Demetrius Phalereus, who at that time ruled every thing at Athens, had not favoured his escape. His moral tenets were worthy of an atheist. He taught that all things are indifferent, and that there is nothing in its own nature either vice or virtue. His impiety drew him into trouble wherever he went, and he was at last condemned to poison himself.

The just \* severity of the Athenians, who punished even doubting upon this head, as we have seen in the case of Protagoras, highly contributed to

\* Ex quo equidem existimo, tardiores ad hanc sententiam profitendam multos esse factos, quippè cùm poenam ne dubitatio quidem effugere potuisset. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 63.



put a stop to the licentiousness of opinions, and the progress of impiety. The Stoics \* carried their respect for religion so far in this point, that they treated the custom of disputing against the existence of the gods as criminal and impious, whether it was done seriously, or merely for the sake of conversation, and against one's opinion.

## S E C T. II.

*Of the nature of the Divinity.*

A Brief enumeration of all the chimeras advanced by the philosophers upon this subject will convince us better than any other arguments of the incapacity of human reason to attain to such sublime truths by its own strength. I shall extract this detail from Cicero's books *upon the nature of the gods*. The remarks and reflections with which the Abbé Olivet of the French academy has interspersed his excellent translation of those books of Cicero, will be great helps to me, and I shall scarce do more than copy and abridge them.

As the antient philosophers studied the nature of the gods only with relation to sensible things, whose origin and formation they endeavoured to comprehend, and as the different manners, in which they disposed the system of the universe, occasioned their different beliefs concerning the Divinity, we must not be surprised to find those two subjects often united and confounded in this place.

De nat.  
deor. l. 1.  
n. 25.

THALES of Miletus said, *That water was the principle of all things, and that God is that intelligence, by whom all things are formed out of water.* He spoke of an intelligence, that making only one whole with matter directed its operations; in the same manner as the soul, which united with the

\* Mala & impia consuetudo est contra deos disputandi, sive animo id fit sive simulatè. *Ibid.* l. 2. n. 168.

body makes only one and the same man, is said to direct the actions of man.

ANAXIMANDER believed, *That the gods receive* De nat. being, *that they are born and die at remote periods of* deor. l. 1. time, *and that they are innumerable worlds.* These<sup>n. 25.</sup> gods of Anaximander were the stars.

ANAXIMENES affirmed, *That the air is god, that* Ibid. n. 26. *it is produced, that it is immense and infinite, and that it is always in motion.* This opinion of Anaximenes, at bottom, differs in nothing from those that precede it. He retained the idea of a sole, and infinitely extended, substance from his master Anaximander: but he called it air, as Thales had called it water.

ANAXAGORAS, the pupil of Anaximenes, was Ibid. the author of this opinion, *That the system and order of the universe were to be attributed to the power and wisdom of an infinite mind.* Anaxagoras lived only an age after Thales. The notions of philosophy began to clear up. The necessity of an efficient cause, substantially distinct from the material one, was perceived. But to this infinite mind he attributes only the order and motion, not the creation of the universe. The co-eternity of the two principles independent of each other, as to their existence, is the rock, on which he with all the antient philosophers split.

PYTHAGORAS believed, *that God is a soul diffused* Ibid. n. 27. *througout all the beings of nature, and from which the souls of men are derived.* Virgil has admirably described the doctrine of this philosopher:

*Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, & haustus  
Æthereos dixere: deum namque ire per omnes  
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum.  
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum  
Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas.*

Georg. l. 4.

B b 4

Pythagoras

Pythagoras lived at least fifty years before Anaxagoras. The latter therefore is not the first who had the idea of a pure spirit; or Pythagoras must be said to have confounded it with matter.

De nat. XENOPHANES said, *That God is an infinite whole,*  
deor. l. 1. *to which he adds an intelligence.* The same philoso-  
28. pher says elsewhere, *That God is an eternal substance*  
Acad. *—and of a round figure,* by which he understands the  
Quæst. l. 4. world. He therefore believed this God material.  
n. 118.

De nat. PARMENIDES did not differ in his opinions from  
deor. l. 1. his master Xenophanes, though he expressed him-  
n. 28. self in different terms.

Ibid. n. 29. EMPEDOCLES. According to him, *the four ele-  
ments, of which he affirms all things to be composed,*  
*are divine,* that is to say, gods. It is however mani-  
fest, that they are mixed, that they have a beginning  
and perish, and that they are void of thought.

Ibid. DEMOCRITUS, *gives the quality of gods as well to  
the images of sensible objects, as to nature which sup-  
plies those images, and to our knowledge and under-  
standing.* What he called gods were atoms. To  
Acad. speak properly, he believed nothing. *I deny,* said  
Quæst. l. 4. he, *that we either know any thing, or nothing, I deny  
n. 73. that we know even whether we know that. I deny  
that we know whether any thing exists, or whether no-  
thing exists.* A worthy member of the Eleatic  
sect, whose favourite maxim was the *Acatalepsy*,  
or the absolute incomprehensibility of all things,  
This sect, which acknowledged Xenophanes for its  
founder, formed unbelieving Protagoras, and gave  
birth to that of Pyrrho.

De nat. PLATO. It appears from all his works, that he  
deor. l. 1. had very just thoughts of the Divinity, but that he  
n. 39. was afraid to explain himself freely in a city, and  
at a time, wherein it was dangerous to clash with  
the prevailing opinions. *In the Timæus* he says, *that  
the father of the world could not be named; and in his  
books de legibus, that we should not be curious to know  
properly what God is. He supposes him incorporeal.*

He



He attributes the formation of the universe to him; *Opificem ædificatoremque mundi.* He says also, *that the world, the heavens, the stars, the earth, souls, and those to whom the religion of our forefathers ascribes Divinity; all this, he says, is God.* Plato's opinion at bottom, notwithstanding the appearance of Polytheism, is, that there is but one most good and most perfect God, who made all things according to the idea of the best work possible.

ANTISTHENES says, *That there are many gods adored by the nations of the earth, but that there is but one natural God, that is to say, as Lactantius explains it, author of all nature.*

ARISTOTLE differs exceedingly from himself. Sometimes he affirms that the whole Divinity resides in intelligence, that is to say, in the intelligent principle, by which all thinking beings think. Sometimes that the world is God. He afterwards discovers some other being, who is above the world, and who takes care to direct and preserve its motion. He elsewhere teaches that God is nothing else but the fire that shines in the heavens.

XENOCRATES says, *that there are eight gods. The planets are five of them, and all the fixed stars together, as so many scattered members of the same body, make out one. The sun is the seventh; and, last of all, the moon the eighth.*

THEOPHRASTUS in one passage attributes supreme Divinity to intelligence; in another to the heavens in general; and afterwards to the planets in particular.

STRATO says, *that there is no other God but nature: and that nature is the principle of all productions and all mutations.*

ZENO, the founder of the famous sect of the Stoics. We ought to expect something great concerning the Divinity from him. The following is the sum of his theology, extracted principally from Cicero's second book *De natura deorum*, in which his opinions are explained with great extent.

That

That the four elements alone compose the whole Universe. That these four elements make but one continued nature, without division. That absolutely no other substance exists, besides these four elements. That the source of intelligence, and of all souls, is the fire united in the Æther, where its purity suffers no alteration, because the other elements do not mingle with it. That this intelligent, active, vital fire penetrates the whole universe. That, as intelligence is its property distinct from the other elements, it is deemed to operate all things. That it proceeds methodically to generation, that is to say, it produces all things, not blindly and by chance, but according to certain rules always the same. That, being the soul of the universe, it causes it to subsist, and governs it with wisdom, because it is the principle of all wisdom. That consequently it is God. That he gives the same denomination to Nature, with which it is one and the same, and to the Universe, of which it is a part. That the sun, moon, and all the stars, as they are bodies of fire, are gods. That all things wherein any singular efficacy resides, and where this active principle manifests itself clearly, deserve the name of Divinities. That the same title ought also to be given to great men, in whose souls the divine fire brightens with uncommon lustre. And lastly, that in whatsoever manner this soul of the universe is represented to us, and whatever name custom has given it in respect to the different parts it animates, religious worship is due to it.

I am tired with repeating so many absurdities, and the reader no doubt as much as me, if he had patience enough to read them to the end. He ought not to expect to see living lights shine out from the darkness of Paganism, upon a subject infinitely superior to the weakness of human wit, and the nature of the Divinity. The philosophers might indeed, by the pure strength of reason, have convinced

vince

vinced themselves of the necessity and existence of a divine Being. Some of them, however, as \* Epicurus, have been suspected of concealing real atheism under the veil of specious words : at least they dishonoured the Divinity almost as much by the mean ideas they conceived of him, as they would have done, had they absolutely denied him.

As to what regards the essence of the divine nature, they were all widely mistaken. And how should it have been otherwise, as men know no more of God, than he is pleased to reveal to them? The Abbé Olivet, in his dissertation upon the theology of the philosophers, reduces their sentiments to three general systems, which include all the particular opinions given us by Cicero in his books upon the nature of the gods. The different manner, in which those philosophers disposed the system of the universe, occasioned their different beliefs concerning the Divinity.

Some of them believed, that mere matter alone, without thought or reason, was capable of forming the world : whether one of the elements produced all the rest by different degrees of rarefaction and condensation, as it appears that Anaximenes believed, or that, matter being divided into an infinity of moving corpuscles, those corpuscles assumed regular forms in consequence of fluttering accidentally to and fro in the Void, as Epicurus believed : or that all the parts of matter had an intrinsic gravity, which gave them a necessary direction, according to Strato's opinion. Now the atheism of these philosophers is manifestly of the greatest kind, because they acknowledge no other first cause but inanimate matter.

Others rose to this notion, that the order of the world was too exquisite not to be the effect of an

De nat.  
deor. l. 2.  
n. 28.

\* Nonnullis videtur Epicurus, ne in offensionem Athenien-  
sum caderet, verbis reliquisse deos, re sustulisse. *Lib. 1. de nat.*  
*deor. n. 85.*



Intelligent Cause. But, not conceiving any thing immaterial, they believed Intelligence a part of matter, and ascribed that perfection to the fire of the Æther, which they considered as the ocean of all souls. This was the opinion of the Stoics, with whom may be joined Thales, and even Pythagoras, Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Democritus, who admitted, as well as they, an universal intelligent matter.

And, lastly, others comprehended, that intelligence could not be material, and that it was necessary to distinguish it absolutely from whatever is corporeal. But at the same time they believed, that bodies existed independently of that intelligence, and that its power extended no farther than to dispose them in order, and to animate them. This was the opinion of Anaxagoras and Plato: an opinion much less imperfect than that of the others, as it includes the idea of spirit, and really distinguishes the cause from the effect, the agent from matter; but still infinitely remote from truth.

As to the other two classes of philosophers, who admitted no principles but such as were material, they are absolutely inexcusable, and differ only in their blindness, as being more or less blind. What we read in the book of Wisdom may be well applied to them:—*Vain are all men by nature, who are ignorant of God, and could not, out of the good things that are seen, know him that is: neither, by considering the works, did they acknowledge the workmaster, but deemed either fire, or wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the violent water, or the lights of heaven, to be the gods which govern the world.*

I speak here only of the gods peculiarly acknowledged as such by the philosophers. Varro distinguished three kinds of theologies. *The Fabulous*, which was that of the poets: *The Natural*, taught by the philosophers: and *the Civil* or political, which was that established by the state, and in use amongst

Wisd. xiii.  
1, 2.

S. August.  
de Civit.  
Dei l. 6.  
c. 5.

amongst the people. The first and the last either ascribed, or suffered to be ascribed to the gods, all the passions and vices of men, and the most abominable crimes. The second seemed less void of reason, but at bottom was scarce any thing more religious, and included absurdities that disgrace human understanding.

Cicero, \* in his third book upon the nature of the gods, sets all these absurdities in their full light. He did not know enough to establish true religion; but he knew enough to refute the Stoics and Epicureans, the only persons that rose up against St. Paul, when he preached at Athens. The mere light of nature might suffice him for subverting falsehood, but could not guide him to the discovery of the truth. We here discern the weakness of human reason, and the vain efforts that it makes alone, to raise itself up to the exact knowledge of a God truly † hidden, and who dwells ‡ in inaccessible light. What progress in this respect has this proud reason been capable of making, during above four ages, in the best heads of Greece, in the most illustrious of the Pagans for their learning, and the chiefs of their most famous schools? There is || nothing so absurd, that has not been advanced by some philosopher.

And farther. Such of them as professed an higher degree of wisdom, and to whom God had manifested his unity, did they not keep this knowledge a secret through an ungrateful and abject cowardice? Did one of them rise up against the im-

\* Tullius, tertio de natura deorum libro, dissolvit publicas religiones: sed tamen veram, quam ignorabat, nec ipse, nec alius quisquam potuit inducere. Adeo & ipse testatus est falsum quidem apparere, veritatem tamen latere. *Lactant. de ira Dei, c. 11.*

† Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel the Saviour. *Isai. xlv. 15.*

‡ Dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto. *1 Tim vi. 16.*

|| Nescio quomodo nihil tam absurdè dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum. *Cic. Divin. l. 2. n. 19.*

Scholas  
habebant  
privatas, &  
templa  
communia.  
*S. August.*

Socrates.

Xenophon.

Epist. Plat.  
ad Dion.

Plat. de  
Repub.  
l. 3.

piety, which had substituted mute idols, and figures not only of men, but of beasts and reptiles, to the true and living God? Did one of them refrain from going to the temples, though he did not approve in his heart the superstitious worship, which he authorised by his presence and example? The only one, whose religion was put to the trial, did he not treat those, who accused him of not adoring the gods worshipped by the Athenians, as false accusers? His Apologist, who was also his disciple and friend, does he defend him in any other manner, than by affirming, that he always acknowledged the same divinities as the people? And is not Plato himself obliged to own, that this mean prevaricator ordered an impious sacrifice, even when certain of immediate death? A small extract from one of Plato's letters shews us how much he was afraid to explain himself upon the nature and unity of God, and in consequence how far he was from rendering him thanks, from confessing him before men, and from exposing himself to the least danger in bearing witness of him. The shameful actions attributed to the false gods made him blush: but he contented himself with saying, that either they were not guilty of those crimes, or were not gods if they had committed them; without daring to say, that there was but ONE GOD, and without having the courage to rise up against the public worship, founded upon the very crimes he considered with horror.

It must be said, to the shame of Paganism, and the glory of the Gospel, that a child amongst us, with the least instruction in the catechism, is more certain and more knowing in respect to every thing necessary for us to know of the Divinity, than all the philosophers together.



## S E C T. III.

*Whether the Divinity presides over the government of the world? Whether mankind be his peculiar care?*

THE dispute of the antient philosophers concerning providence was, whether the gods presided in the government of the world in general, and whether they descended to a particular care of every individual of mankind. Epicurus was almost the only one that denied this truth.

“It is asked, said he, in what manner do the gods live, and how do they employ themselves? Their life is the most happy, and the most delicious imaginable. A god does nothing: he disturbs himself with no kind of care: he undertakes nothing. His wisdom and virtue form his joy. The pleasures he tastes, pleasures that can admit of no increase, he is sure of enjoying for ever.”

“This,” continues he, addressing himself to Balbus, who sustained the opinion of the Stoics, this is an happy god. But, as for yours, he is overwhelmed with cares and labour. For, if you believe, that this god is the world itself, turning incessantly as it does round the axis of the heavens, and that too with surprising rapidity, is it possible for him to have a moment’s rest? Now, without rest, there is no felicity.

To pretend that there is a God in the world who governs it, who presides over the course of the stars, and the revolutions of the seasons, who regulates and disposes all things, who has his eye upon the land and sea, who makes the lives of men his concern, and who provides for their occasions; all this is certainly giving him very severe and laborious employments. Now to be happy, according to us, it is necessary to possess tranquillity of mind, and to be entirely at

“leisure.

De nat.

deor. l. 1.

n. 51, 54.

The system  
of the Sto-  
ics.

Plato's

system.

“leisure. \* Besides, you set an eternal master  
 “over our heads, of whom we are to be day and  
 “night continually in dread. For how is it pos-  
 “sible not to fear a God, who foresees all things,  
 “whose thoughts extend to all things, who ob-  
 “serves all things, who believes all things relate  
 “to him, who interferes in all things, and who is  
 “never without employment?” The great maxim  
 of Epicurus was therefore, † *That an happy and*  
*immortal being had neither any thing to do himself, nor*  
*occasioned employment for others.*

So impious a doctrine, which openly denies pro-  
 vidence, deserved an Epicurus for its advocate and  
 defender. And it must be owned, that what he  
 says of a god who sees and knows all things, and  
 who in consequence must punish whatever is con-  
 trary to the law of heaven, is the sole reason which  
 to this day induces some persons to believe, there  
 is no providence that watches over all the actions of  
 men, or rather to desire it.

De nat.  
 deor. l. 1.  
 n. 115,  
 116.

“It is not without reason that this doctrine oc-  
 “casioned Epicurus to be considered as a declared  
 “enemy of the gods, who undermined all religion  
 “and who, by his reasonings, as Xerxes by his  
 “troops, levelled their temples and altars. For  
 “after all, what reason, says Cotta, should oblig-  
 “us to have any thoughts of the gods, as they  
 “have none of us, and absolutely neither take care  
 “of, nor do, any thing?—To be bound to express  
 “piety for them, would it not be necessary to have  
 “received graces from them? For wherein is  
 “a person obliged to those who have done nothing  
 “for him? Piety is a justice paid by man to the

\* Itaque imposuistis in cervicibus nostris sempiternum dominum  
 quem dies & noctes timeremus. Quis enim non timeat omni-  
 providentem, & cogitantem & animadvertentem, & omnia ad se per-  
 tinere putantem, curiosum & plenum negotii deum?

† Quod æternum beatumque sit, id nec habere ipsum negotii  
 quidquam, nec exhibere alteri. De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 45.

“ gods

“ gods. Now, as your gods have no relation to  
 “ us, what can they require from us ?”

The prayers made to the Divinity in distress and danger, the vows made to him for the attainment of certain graces, the promises and oaths of which he is taken for witness, uses common to all nations and practised in all times, shew that mankind had always Providence in their thoughts. To consult only our own reason, such as sin has left it, that is to say, our pride and darkness, we should be tempted to believe, that it is not treating the Divinity with sufficient respect to make him descend thus to little circumstances, in representing to him all our wants; to stipulate conditions with him, if he vouchsafes to hear them; and to make him intervene in our transactions and engagements. God has thought fit by these different methods to preserve in the minds of all people a clear idea of his Providence, of the care he takes of all mankind in particular, of the supreme authority that he retains over all the events of their lives, of his attention in examining whether they have faithfully kept their promises, and of that he will have in punishing the violation of them.

And indeed we see that these truths have always been considered as the firmest foundations of human society. \* *Above all*, says Cicero, in laying down rules for a wise government, *we ought to be fully convinced, that the gods are the supreme lords and rulers of all things; that whatever passes in the universe, is directed by their will and power: that they delight in doing good to mankind; that they attentively examine what every one is, what he thinks, how he acts, and with what piety, and what sentiments, he*

\* Sit igitur hoc jam à principio persuasum civibus. dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos; eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri judicio ac numine: eosdemque optimè de genere hominum mereri; &, qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, quamente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem. *De Leg.* l. 2. n. 15.



*practises the duties of religion : and lastly, that they make a great difference between the good and the wicked.*

\* This passage shews us, that the Pagans not only attributed the universal government of the world to the Divinity, but were convinced, that he descended to the most minute particulars, and that not any of mankind, not an action, or even a thought, escaped his attention and knowledge.

The Epicureans could not support the idea of a God so near, so attentive to them, and of such piercing sight. He is supremely happy, said they, and consequently enjoys infinite tranquillity. He is void of anger and passion. Every thing is indifferent to him, except repose. This is what persons abandoned to their pleasures are still fond of persuading themselves, in order to avoid the importunate reproaches of conscience. They are willing to allow in God a general care of his creatures, and a goodness like that of princes, who govern their dominions with wisdom, but who do not enter into particulars, nor descend to love their subjects, and distinguish any of them by their peculiar regard.

Pf. xxxiii. David did not think in this manner : *The Lord looketh from heaven : he beboldeth all the sons of men. From the place of his habitation, he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He fashioneth their heart.*

Mr. Du Guet. *alike : he considereth all their works.* In beholding all mankind from heaven, he does not examine them with a general and confused view. Every individual is as present to him, as if he were attentive to no other object. He does not see him as from a great distance, but as immediately before his eyes. He does not consider only his outside, but penetrates into whatever is most secret and retired within him. He does not only interrogate his heart, but dwells in it, and is more present

\* Nee verò universo generi hominum solum, sed etiam singulis & diis immortalibus consuli & provideri solet. *De nat. deor. l. 2. n.*

and intimate there, than the heart itself. In the infinite multitude of men, that have been and now are, nothing escapes either his sight or his remembrance. This knowledge and attention, which are as incomprehensible as his being, are natural effects of his being the Creator of all things, and of the heart as well as all the rest: *Who fashioneth their hearts,—who considereth all their works.*

## ARTICLE II.

*Of the formation of the world.*

**I** Shall not tire the reader a second time with a particular account in this place of the various systems of the antient philosophers concerning the formation of the world, which vary infinitely, and are some more absurd than others. I shall scarce speak of any of them, except those of the Stoics and Epicureans, whose systems upon this subject are most known and celebrated. It is not my design to enter very deeply into them, but to give only a general idea of them.

## SECT. I.

*System of the Stoics concerning the formation of the world.*

**A**CCORDING to the Stoics, the intelligent part of nature only set the material and non-intelligent part of it in motion, which as well as itself had existed from all eternity. This appears very clearly from one passage of Cicero, not to mention abundance more. To obviate and remove the objections that might be made against Providence, in respect to several things either useless or pernicious, with which the world abounds, the Stoics replied: \* *Nature has made the best use she could of*

\* Ex iis naturis quæ erant, quod effici potuit optimum, effectum est. *De nat. deor.* l. 2. n. 86.

Arist.  
Physic.  
l. 8.

*the elements that existed.* Could the pre-existence of matter be more expressly implied? Aristotle, and many other philosophers, were also of the same opinion. \* What the Stoics called *the soul of the world*, was that Intelligence, that Reason, which they believed diffused throughout nature. And what was this intelligent, sensitive, rational principle? Why, nothing but the Ætherial fire, which penetrates all bodies: or rather nothing but mechanic laws, which they ascribed principally to the celestial fire, and according to which every thing was formed, and every thing acted necessarily.

Accordingly † Zeno defined nature *a fire of subtile art, which proceeded methodically to generation.* For he believed the action of *creating* and generating peculiar to art.

Cicero uses the term *create* in this place, which might give reason to believe, that he knew and admitted the action of producing out of nothing, which is *creation* in the strict sense of the term. ‡ But he uses the same word in many other places to express a simple production; and none of his works give the least room to believe, that he had so singular a notion, as that of *creation* properly so called. As much may be said of all the antients who have treated on Physics, as Cicero expressly shews: *Exit aliquid quod ex nihilo oriatur, aut in nihilum subito occidat? Quis hoc Physicus dixit unquam?* It was a received principle with all the philosophers,

Lib. 2. de  
Divinit.

\* In natura sentiente ratio perfecta inest, quam vim animum dicunt esse mundi. *Acad. Quæst.* l. 1. n. 28, 29.

† Zeno ita naturam definit, ut eam dicat *ignem esse artificiosum ad gignendum progredientem via.* Censet enim artis maximè proprium esse *creare* & gignere. *De nat. deor.* l. 2. n. 57.

‡ Natura fingit homines & creat imitatores & narratores facetes. *2. de Orat.* n. 219.

Omnium rerum quas & creat natura & tuetur, summum bonum est in corpore. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 38.

Quæ in terris gignuntur omnia ad usum hominum creantur. *Offic.* l. 1. n. 22.

that



that matter neither could be produced from, nor reduced to, nothing :

*De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti.*

Perf. Sat. 3.

Epicurus in exprefs terms denies this power to the Divinity :

*Nullam rem è nihilo gigni divinitus unquam.*

Lactantius has preserved a fragment of Cicero's Lact. Div. Instit. l. 2. c. 8. books *De natura Deorum*, which cannot be applied with certainty to the system of the Stoics ; because, as it is detached, it does not entirely appear of which sect of philosophers it is to be understood. However it seems very proper to explain what they thought concerning the formation of the world. I shall insert it here at length. \* *It is not probable, says the speaker, that matter, from which all things derived their origin, was itself formed by the divine Providence ; but rather, that it has, and always had an intrinsic and natural force, which renders all its modifications possible to it. As a workman therefore, when he works upon a building, does not produce the matter for it himself, but uses that he finds ready made ; and as he who forms a figure of wax, finds the wax produced to his hand : so the divine Providence must have had a matter, not that it had produced itself, but which it found in a manner at hand, and prepared for its designs. That, if God did not produce the first matter, it cannot be said that he produced either earth, air, fire, or water.*

The comparison of the architect and the statuary is entirely proper for explaining the system of the

\* Non est probabile, eam materiam rerum, unde orta sunt omnia, esse divina providentia effectam ; sed habere & habuisse vim & naturam suam. Ut igitur faber, cum quid ædificaturus est, non ipse facit materiam, sed ea utitur quæ sit parata, si torque item cera : sic isti providentiæ divinæ materiam præsto esse oportuit, non quam ipse faceret, sed quam haberet paratam. Quod si non est à Deo materia facta, ne terra quidem, & aqua, & aer, & ignis à Deo factus est.

**Stoics.** Their god, (whom Cicero calls the divine Providence in this place) and which is only the *Æther*, as we have observed, did not create, that is, produce the matter of which the world is formed out of nothing; but he modified it, and, in disposing the parts of matter before in confusion, he made earth, air, water, and that gross fire which we know: that is to say, he gave them the form and disposition in which we see them.

The \* workman, says Lactantius in the passage I have just cited, cannot build without wood, because he is not capable of producing it of himself; and of that he is incapable as he is man, that is to say, weakness itself. But God produces all that he pleases out of nothing, because he is God, that is to say, power itself that knows neither measure nor bounds. For, if he is not omnipotent, he is not God.

## S E C T. II.

*System of the Epicureans concerning the formation of the world.*

Plut. de  
placit.  
Philos. l. 2.  
c. 1.

**I**N the system of the Epicureans (and the Stoics were of the same opinion in this point) these two words, *World and Universe*, had a different signification. By the *World* they understood the heavens and the earth, and all they contained; and by the *Universe*, not only the heavens and the earth with all they contain, but also the infinite void, which they supposed beyond the world. For they believed the world full and limited, (*or a limited plenum*;) but they supposed it surrounded on all sides with an in-

\* Faber sine ligno nihil ædificabit, quia lignum ipsum facere non potest: non posse autem, imbecillitatis est humanæ. Deus vero facit sibi ipse materiam, quia potest; posse enim, Dei est: nam, si non potest, Deus non est. Homo facit ex eo quod est, quia per mortalitatem imbecillis est; per imbecillitatem, definitæ ac modicæ potestatis. Deus autem facit ex eo quod non est, quia per æternitatem fortis est, per fortitudinem potestatis immensæ, quæ sine ac modo caret sicut vita factoris. *Lactant. ibid. c. 10.*

finite,

finite, and absolutely void, space. Accordingly\* they divided all nature, the whole universe, into two parts: bodies and *space*, or *void*:

*Omnis ut est igitur per se Natura duabus  
Consistit rebus, quæ Corpora sunt & Inane.*

Lucret. l. 2.

This distinction is necessary for understanding the system of the Epicureans. For they supposed, as a certain principle, that, without the *Vacuum*, there could not have been any motion or even production in the world:

*Quæ, si non esset Inane,  
Non tam sollicito motu privata carerent,  
Quàm genita omnino nulla ratione fuissent:  
Undique materies quoniam stipata fuisset.* Ib. l. 1.

According to the Epicureans, the fortuitous concourse of atoms formed the world.

*Atom* is a Greek word, which signifies *indivisible*. It is a corpuscle of every kind of figure, from numbers of which all other bodies are formed. Atoms are not the objects of the senses through their extreme smallness, which makes them imperceptible.

Moschus the Phœnician, Leucippus, † and Democritus, were the first philosophers, who advanced the doctrine of atoms. They suppose that, of these little corpuscles, some are smooth, some rough, some round, some angular, and others curve, and in a manner hooked; and that heaven and earth were formed by the fortuitous concourse of these atoms.

\* Sunt qui omnia Naturæ nomine appellent, ut Epicurus, qui ita dividit: Omnia, quæ secundum Naturam, esse Corpora & Inane. 2. *De nat. deor.* n. 82.

† Ita flagitia Democriti, sive etiam antè Leucippi, esse corpuscula quædam lævia, alia aspera, rotunda alia, partim autem angulata, curvata quædam & quasi adunca: ex his effectum esse cælum atque terram, nulla cogente natura, sed concursu quodam fortuito. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 66.



But Epicurus particularly insisted upon this doctrine, which he placed in honour, \* introducing however some alterations in it, by which Cicero affirms, that he only spoiled the doctrine of Democritus, instead of correcting and improving it.

De Finib.  
l. 2. n. 17  
—18.

Democritus places atoms in an infinite space, without either middle or extremities. There, in motion from all eternity, they unite and adhere to each other, and, by such meeting and concourse, form the world as we see it. Cicero cannot bear that a philosopher, in explaining the formation of the world, should speak only of the Material, without saying a word of the Efficient cause. And, indeed, what an absurdity is it to suppose, that certain solid and indivisible bodies move of themselves from all eternity by their natural weight! This Democritus holds as well as Epicurus; for the latter also gave his atoms a natural and intrinsic activity, which sufficed to put them in motion: but he differed from the former in other points.

De Finib.  
l. 2. n. 18  
—20.

“ Epicurus pretends indeed, that atoms tend of  
“ themselves directly downwards, which motion  
“ he says is that of all bodies. Afterwards coming  
“ to reflect, that, if all atoms tended continually  
“ downwards in a direct line, and by a perpendi-  
“ cular motion, it would never be possible for one  
“ of them to touch another, he subtly imagined  
“ a declination or obliquity in their motion, by the  
“ means of which the atoms, striking against each  
“ other, blend and hook themselves together, and  
“ form the world, with all the parts that compose  
“ it. Thus, by a mere fiction, he gives them, at  
“ the same time, a slight declination or obliquity  
“ of motion, without alledging any cause for it,  
“ which is shameful to a natural philosopher; and  
“ deprives them also without any cause of the di-  
“ rect motion downwards, which he had advanced

\* Democrito adjicit, per pauca mutans, sed ita ut ea, quæ corrigere vult, mihi quidem depravare videatur. De Finib. l. 1. n. 17.

“ as the law or tendency of all bodies. However, with all the suppositions he invents he does not effect what he pretends. For, if all atoms have an equal declination or obliquity of motion, they will never adhere to each other. And if some have it, and not others, to give these a direct, and those an oblique, motion, is giving them different employments upon trust and at a venture. With all this, it would not cease to be impossible for such a fortuitous clash or concurrence of atoms ever to produce the order and beauty of the universe.

“ If the fortuitous concurrence of atoms, says Cicero elsewhere, is capable of forming the world, why will it not as well form a portico, a temple, an house, or a city; works of much less difficulty? \* To reason in so absurd a manner, one would think, that these philosophers had never once looked up towards the heavens, nor beheld all their wonderful and various beauties.”

De nat.  
deor. l. 2.  
n. 94.

The doctrine of void had induced Epicurus, as well as some other philosophers, to suppose a plurality of worlds, formed, as well as this we inhabit, by the fortuitous concurrence of atoms:

*Quare etiam atque etiam tales fateare necesse est  
Esse alios alibi congressus materiai,  
Qualis hic est, avido complexu quem tenet æther.*

Lucret. l. 2.

Gassendi considers this opinion as contrary not only to the holy Scriptures, which mention no plurality of worlds, and seem to suppose only one; but also to that of the greatest philosophers, as Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno the Stoic, and many others. He owns however it cannot be demonstrated, that there are

\* Certe ita temerè de mundo effutiunt, ut mihi quidem nunquam hunc admirabilem cœli ornatum, qui locus est proximus, suspexisse videantur.

not other worlds besides this, because it is in the power of God to create as many as he pleases : but that it would be contrary to reason to affirm actually that there are more, because God has not revealed that to us.

## S E C T. III.

*Plato's fine thought of the formation of the world.*

**I** Do not undertake to examine what Plato's opinions were concerning the formation of the world, which would require infinite discussion. He sometimes calls matter *eternal*; by which he does not understand that it subsisted visibly from all eternity, but that it subsisted intellectually in the eternal idea of God. This is what he means, when he says, *the \* Exemplar or Model of the world is from all eternity.*

Plat. in  
Timæo.

p. 38.

Ibid. p. 37.

Some lines before he has the thought of which I speak in this place : † *God, considering his work, and finding it perfectly conformable to his idea and original, rejoiced and in some measure applauded himself.*

What Plato says here, that God formed the world according to the exemplar he had conceived of it in himself, is very remarkable. As a skilful workman has the whole disposition and form of his work in his head before he begins it, and works according to those ideas, so that what he executes may be said to be only a copy of the original he has before imagined, every work that subsists being pure imitation; in like manner God, in creating the world, only executed the idea he had conceived of it from all eternity. For the world, and all that it contains, existed intellectually in God, before it existed really in nature. These are Plato's

\* Τὸ παράδειγμα, πάντα αἰῶνα ἐστὶν ὄν.

† Ἠγάσθη τε, καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ὁμοίον πρὸς τὸ παράδειγμα ἐπενόησεν ἀπεργάσασθαι.



ideas, which he might very possibly have extracted from the \* Scriptures, where we find that God gives Moses models of all the works it is his will that prophet should execute. What is said in Genesis of God's first approbation of his works as they came from his hands, and afterwards of them all in general, when he had finished them, might more immediately have supplied Plato with that sublime idea of the eternal exemplars upon which the world was formed. For these words, *And God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good,* Gen. i. 31. Mr. du Guet. signify, as the new interpreter of Genesis observes, "That God, considering all his works at one view, and comparing them with each other, and with the eternal model of which they are the expression, found their beauty and perfection most excellent."

In the little I have now said of Plato's opinions concerning the formation of the world, may be seen how much he rose upon the physical principles which he might before have taken from Heraclitus.

The design of God, in setting before our eyes the infinite wonders of the world, was to make us discern, in the motion of all the parts of the universe, their relation to each other, and the concert between them, HIM who has created, and who governs them. He has every-where placed footsteps of himself. He has concealed and veiled himself under the objects of nature; but those objects are so beautiful and grand, that they reveal the wisdom which formed, and directs them in a thousand different manners. How therefore could it possibly happen, that men, considered as the sole Sages of the earth, should be so blind and stupid as to attribute such wonderful effects to chance, destiny, matter, and the simple combination of the laws of

\* Some have believed, that he had seen them during his travels.

motion,

motion without God's having any other part in them, than to obey those laws? What is the wit of man abandoned to its own darkness? The first words in the most antient book in the world reveal to us this great truth: *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.* These few words fix plainly, by the authority of Revelation, all the doubts, and dispel all the difficulties, which so long perplexed the philosophers upon one of the most essential points of religion. They were not capable of knowing it perhaps with entire certainty by the sole light of reason, but they at least might and ought to have had some idea of it. For either God must necessarily have created the heavens, the earth, and mankind; or they must have been eternal, which is far more inconceivable. Can a rational and unprejudiced mind ever be convinced in earnest, that Matter, brute and void of intelligence in itself, could form Beings that wear the stamp of Perfect Wisdom. Faith shortens the way very much, and spares us abundance of pains. There are subjects, in which reason, unaided by that light, can make no progress with any certainty.

### ARTICLE III.

#### *Of the nature of the soul.*

**T**HERE is hardly any question, about which the philosophers are more divided, than that which relates to the nature of the soul; and there is hardly one, which shews more sensibly, of what human weakness is capable, when guided solely by its own lights. They dispute much with each other about what the soul is, where it resides, from whence it derives its origin, and what becomes of it after death. Some believe the heart itself to be the soul. Empedocles says, it is the blood which is mingled in the heart; and others that it is a certain part of

Cic. Tusc.  
Quæst. l. 1.  
n. 18, 22.

of the brain. Many affirm, that neither the heart, nor the brain, are the soul itself, but only the seat of the soul; and that it is a breath or else a fire. This last is the opinion of Zeno the Stoic. Aristoxenus the musician, who was also a philosopher, makes it consist in a certain harmony of the different parts of the body: Xenocrates places it in numbers, as Pythagoras had thought before him. Plato distinguishes three parts in the soul. He places the principal, which is reason, in the head: and makes the two others, choler and cupidity, reside, the first in the breast, and the other under the heart. Aristotle, perceiving that not one of the four principles, of which, according to him, all things are made, was susceptible of the properties of the soul, as thinking, knowing, loving, hating, &c. \* supposes a fifth, to which he gives no name; calling the soul by a new term, that, according to Cicero, signifies a continued and uninterrupted motion, but a term in effect, of which the most learned neither understand nor can explain the force.

This is the enumeration Cicero gives us of the various opinions of the philosophers concerning the nature of the soul. For as to that of Democritus, who makes it consist of atoms, he does not think it worth repeating. He concludes this detail with these words, which seem to express a great indifference for so important a subject: † *Which of all these opinions is true, some god may know; we content ourselves with inquiring which is the most probable.* The system of the Academy, which he espoused, was, that the false is universally mingled in such a manner with the true, and resembles it so much, that there is no certain mark to distinguish them from each other.

\* Quintum genus adhibet, vacans nomine; & sic ipsum animum *ἰντελέχεια* appellat novo nomine, quasi quandam continuatam motionem, & perennem. *Cic. ibid.*

† Harum sententiarum quæ vera sit, deus aliquis viderit: quæ verisimillima, magna quæstio est.



Chap. 1.

Accordingly Cicero, in the places where he mentions the immortality of the soul, speaks of it almost always with doubt, and as one who supposes the systems for and against it equally possible and rational. And would to God that only the antient philosophers were to be reproached with this way of thinking! It certainly argues a deplorable blindness in them, and a renunciation of all light and reason. But this doubt, when voluntary and confirmed, is absolutely monstrous and inconceivable in a Christian. “The immortality of the soul” says M. Pascal in his Thoughts, is a thing of such importance to us, and concerns us so highly that one must have lost all reason to be indifferent about it. All our actions and thoughts must have so different a bent according to our belief that there are or are not eternal good things to be hoped, that it is impossible to take any step with sense and judgment, without regulating with a view to this point, which ought to be our final object.” Is there any stupidity, could almost say brutality, like that of daring to risk an eternity of happiness or misery, upon mere doubt?

Lib. 1.  
c. 10.De nat.  
deor. 1.  
n. 118.

Many of the philosophers, of whom I have been speaking, admitted only bodies, and no pure spirits distinct from matter; even the Stoics, whose moral doctrine in other respects included such fine principles, were of this number. \* They did not believe that, the soul was absolutely immortal, but only made it live a great while, *like crows*, say Cicero. Vossius, in his treatise upon idolatry, believes, that by that *great while*, they understood the whole duration of the world, till the general conflagration. For, according to the Stoics, by an ultimate revolution, the whole world was to become only fire. Particular souls were then, with all the

\* Stoici usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus: diu manfuros aiunt animos, semper negant. *Tusc. Quest. l. 1. n. 77.*

rest, to be resolved into, and blended with the universal soul, their first principle. Till then they were to inhabit in the upper region, where they would have nothing to do but to philosophise at their ease, supremely happy in the clear vision of the universe.

Cicero describes this philosophical beatitude with a kind of enthusiasm. “Certainly, says he, we shall be happy, when, with our bodies, we shall have thrown off all passion and disquiet. What now constitutes our joy, when free from all care we apply ourselves ardently to some object that engages and delights us, we shall then do with far greater liberty; abandoning ourselves entirely to the contemplation of all things, which it will be given us to know perfectly. The situation itself of the places to which we shall have attained, in facilitating to us the view of celestial objects, and in kindling in us the desire of penetrating their beauties, will enable us fully to satisfy the insatiable ardour natural to us for knowing truth.—\* And it will discover itself more or less to us, in proportion as we shall have been more or less solicitous to nourish ourselves with it during our abode upon earth.— What a sight will it be, when we shall be able, at one view, to behold the whole earth, its situation, figure, limits, and all its regions, whether inhabited, or desert and void through excess of heat and cold!”

Tuscul.  
Quæst. l. 1.  
n. 44, 45.

Behold here then the extent of philosophic beatitude! What blindness and misery! We see however, through this darkness, an admirable and very instructive principle: That, in the other life, Truth will reveal itself to us in proportion as we have sought after and loved it in this.

\* Præcipuè verò fruentur eâ, qui tum etiam, cùm has terras incolentes circumfusi erant caligine, tamen acie mentis dispicere cupiebant.

The philosophers, who admit the immortality of the soul, give it a more noble employment after death. I do not examine whether Aristotle is to be ranked in that number. That question has exercised and divided the Learned, and is not for his honour, from only continuing dubious. As to Plato, we see in all his works, that as well as Socrates his master, and Pythagoras who preceded them, he believed the soul to be immortal. Cicero, after having repeated many of his proofs, adds, that Plato \* seems to endeavour to persuade others of this truth, but to be fully convinced of it himself.

Plato, treading in the steps of Socrates, opens † two ways for souls after death: one of these leads such as have sullied themselves with crimes and violence upon earth to the place of torments; and by the other ascend to the august assembly of the gods, the pure and innocent souls, that, during their abode in bodies, have had as little commerce as possible with them, and have industriously imitated the life of the gods, from whom they derive their origin, by practising every kind of virtue. Right reason alone made these great philosophers perceive, that, to justify Providence, it was necessary, that there were rewards for the good, and punishments for the wicked, after this life.

\* Plato pro immortalitate animæ tot rationes attulit, ut velle cæteris, sibi certè persuasisse, videatur. *Tusc. Quæst. l. 1. n. 49.*

† Ita censebat (Socrates) duas esse vias duplicesque cursus animarum è corpore excedentium. Nam qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent, & se totos libidinibus dedissent, quibus cæcati velu domesticis vitiis atque flagitiis se inquinassent, vel in rep. violanda fraudes inexpiabiles concepissent, iis demum quoddam iter esse seculum à concilio deorum. Qui autem se integros castosque servavissent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab his semper sevocassent, essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum; his ad illos, à quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere. *Tusc. Quæst. l. 1. n. 72.*



## ARTICLE. IV.

*Of the effects of nature.*

**T**HIS is properly the place where I should treat on Physics at large, and enumerate the principal questions it considers, in order to shew the origin and progress of this science, and the different opinions of the antients and moderns concerning it. But this subject, besides exceeding my ability, is too vast and extensive to be contained within the narrow limits of an abridgment. The reader may find it treated with great perspicuity in the work of F. Reynault the Jesuit, intitled, *The antient origin of modern physics*, of which I have made great use. He retains a very extraordinary moderation in it, whilst he does equal justice to the antients and moderns. I shall content myself therefore with some general reflections.

The Physics alone, or almost alone, were for many ages the employment and delight of the learned of Greece. They were the reigning science there during about \* four hundred years. The philosophers were divided into two famous schools, the Ionic, of which Thales was the founder; and the Italic, who followed Pythagoras, as I have observed before. But the philosophers, who acquired most fame in respect to physics, were Democritus and Leucippus, because Epicurus adopted their system, which we have extensively from Lucretius.

This system, as I have already observed, admitted no principles but Matter and Void; two points, of which the one, I mean Void, is scarce conceivable; and the other repugnant to reason, especially in respect to the *Inclination* or obliquity, which Epicurus gives his Atoms. Notwithstanding the ab-

\* From Thales to Hipparchus, with whom the natural philosophers of antiquity end, very near that number of years are computed.

furdities of this system, the Epicureans, properly speaking, were the only natural philosophers of antiquity. They at least saw, that the Causes of what happens to Bodies, were to be sought only in Bodies, as well as their properties, motion, rest, and figure: and, with this principle, they do not explain certain particular effects amiss, though they err grossly in respect to First Causes.

Aristotle treated Physics, or rather spoiled them, in explaining corporeal effects by terms that can relate only to Mind, as *Sympathy*, *Antipathy*, *Horror*, &c. and in defining things only by some of their effects, often ill chosen, expressed in an obscure manner, and almost always without shewing their causes.

It was not till an age before the birth of JESUS CHRIST, that Physics began to appear at Rome, and to speak the Roman language there by the mouth of Lucretius. “ At length, says that philosophical poet, the secrets of nature are no longer mysteries: and I can boast of being the first that taught them to speak the language of our country:”

Lucr. l. 5. *Denique natura hæc rerum ratioque reperta est  
Nuper; & hanc primus cum primis ipse repertus  
Nunc ego sum, in patrias qui possim vertere voces.*

Seneca\* says, that the causes of the eclipses of the moon, and of many other Phænomena in nature, were but lately known at Rome; with what reason I cannot say. † Long before Pliny’s time, the day and hour of eclipses were foretold; and ‡ Cicero assures us, that in his time the hour and magni-

\* Cur luna deficiat, hoc apud nos quoque nuper ratio ad certum perduxit. *Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. 7. c. 25.*

† Inventa est jampridem ratio prænuntians horas, non modò dies ac noctes, solis lunæque defectuum. *Plin. l. 20. c. 2.*

‡ Defectiones solis & lunæ cognitæ predictæque in omne posterum tempus, quæ, quantæ, quando futuræ sint. *Cic. de nat. deor. l. 2. n. 135.*

tude of all eclipses, either of sun or moon, had been calculated for all succeeding ages. Sulpitius Gal- Liv. l. 44.  
 lus, the evening before Paulus Æmilius was to give n. 37.  
 Perseus battle, foretold an eclipse of the moon, that was to happen the same night, and gave the army the reasons of it. The eclipse began exactly at the hour he had mentioned, which made the troops consider him as a person of more than human knowledge. *Editâ hora luna cùm defecisset, Romanis militibus Galli sapientia prope divina videri.* This last example proves, that this kind of knowledge was very rare amongst the Romans in those days, who never applied themselves very much either to the study of Physics, or the other Superior sciences.

The Greeks differed much from them in this point. They cultivated them during a great length of time, and, if the honour of inventing them be not their due, no-body can deny them that of having exceedingly improved them. It is not easy to find a system of the world applauded in our days, of which the antients have not at least had some knowledge. If we fix the earth with Tycho Brahe, in order to make the sun, circled with Mercury and Venus, turn round it, that system was known to Vitruvius. Some fix the sun and stars, to make the earth turn round from West to East exactly Vitruv. de  
 upon its centre : and this is the system, at least in Archit. l. 9.  
 part, of Ecphantus the Pythagorean, and of Ni- p. 284 &  
 cetæ the Syracusan. The system now in vogue is 287.  
 that which places the sun in the centre of a vortex, Plut. de  
 and the earth in the number of the planets ; and placit.  
 which makes the planets turn round the sun in the philos. l. 3.  
 following order : Mercury, nearest the sun ; p. 396.  
 Venus ; the earth turning upon its centre, with the Cic. Acad.  
 moon revolving round it ; Mars ; Jupiter ; and Quæst. l. 4.  
 Saturn last of all. This system of Copernicus is not new : it is that of \* Aristarchus, and part of the

\* Stob. Eclog. Phys. p. 54 & 56.



mathematicians of antiquity; of \* Cleanthes of Samos; of † Philolaus; of the ‡ Pythagoreans, and very probably of Pythagoras himself.

And indeed it had been a wonder if this system of Copernicus, which seems so rational, had never entered into the thoughts of any of the antient philosophers. This system, I say, appears very rational. For, if the earth did not move, the sun and all the stars, which are very great bodies, must make an immense revolution round the earth in twenty-four hours; and the fixed stars which would be in the greatest circle, where the motion is always the strongest, would in one day take a compass of three hundred millions of leagues, and go farther than from hence to China, in the time one could pronounce these words, *Go to China*. For all this must happen, if the earth does not turn round upon its own axis every twenty-four hours. It is not difficult to conceive, that it does turn round in this manner, which at most is not above nine thousand leagues, a trifle in comparison with three hundred millions.

Amongst the Moderns, rational physics had made little progress till the time of Descartes. He took from the Epicureans the principle, That, to explain the effects of bodies, recourse was to be had only to bodies. But religion taught him to reject their impious principles of Necessity and Chance. For the principle of his physics he lays down a God the Creator and First Mover. He also proscribed the *Vacuum* as inconceivable, and *Atoms*, admitting matter to be divisible *ad infinitum*, or, as he terms it himself, *ad indefinitum*.

With matter and motion, which, he owns, could proceed only from the hands of God, he had the boldness to create a world; and, instead of tracing

\* Plut. de facie in orbe lunæ, p. 923.

† Plut. de placit. philos. p. 896.

‡ Aristot. de cælo, l. 2. c. 13. p. 658.

effects to their causes, he pretended to establish causes, and to deduce effects from them. From thence flows his hypothesis of *Vortices*, which is the most probable opinion hitherto advanced upon the Causes of the universe, though, in a great number of particular consequences, Descartes, in effect of the weakness inseparable from human nature, is frequently enough mistaken.

His Physics reigned in peace, when Newton undertook to dethrone them. He set the Vacuum on foot again, and pretended to demonstrate the impossibility of vortices; in a word, to subvert entirely the Cartesian Physics. Hence ensued a great war in the learned world, which has been carried on with abundance of warmth and vigour on both sides. Whether the learned Englishman has succeeded, or not, is a question that does not concern me, and will not soon be decided. He has at least been more circumspect than Descartes, in having proposed to himself to proceed from known effects to the discovery of their causes.

It must be owned in general, that, in respect to physics, the Moderns have very much improved the learning of the Antients, and have added many new discoveries to them of great importance. And it could not have happened otherwise. Could it be possible, for so many fine geniusses, as successively applied themselves to the observation of Nature, during the course of so many ages, not to have enriched physics, especially since they have discovered extraordinary aids which the antients had not? Nature is an inexhaustible fund, and curiosity has scarce any bounds. Hence it was no illusion, when Seneca foresaw, that posterity would discover abundance of secrets in nature unknown in his time. “ Nature \*, said that great man, does not disclose  
“ all

\* Rerum natura sacra sua non simul tradit—Veniet tempus, quo ista, quæ nunc latent, in lucem dies extrahat—quo posterit nostri

“ all her mysteries at once. The time will come,  
 “ when much that is now hid will appear in full  
 “ light. Posterity will wonder how such evident  
 “ things escaped us ; and even the vulgar know  
 “ what we are ignorant of.” This opinion is en-  
 tirely reasonable, and rich in sense. Many things  
 have conduced to the considerable progress of phy-  
 sics amongst the moderns.

They may be said to have entirely changed face,  
 and soared to new heights, since the learned have  
 made it a law to themselves to study Nature in na-  
 ture itself, to make use of their own eyes and rea-  
 son for discovering its mysteries, and no longer sub-  
 ject themselves blindly and without examination to  
 the judgment of others ; in a word, since they have  
 thrown off the yoke of authority, which in Physi-  
 cal matters ought not to enslave our minds, and is  
 only proper to keep them, through weak respect, in  
 a state of idle and presumptuous ignorance. What  
 progress did Physics make during the course of  
 the fourteen or fifteen ages, in which the authori-  
 ties of Aristotle and Plato were alternately the law ?  
 That method served only to excite vain disputes, to  
 prevent generous efforts, and to extinguish all cu-  
 riosity and emulation ; whilst the lives of philoso-  
 phers most capable of improving physics passed  
 in knowing what had already been thought, rather  
 than what one ought to think.

Tuscul.

l. i. n. 39.

I always disliked a maxim of Cicero's, which  
 however pleased him much, and which he repeats  
 more than once. It is, that he had rather err with  
 Plato, than think aright with the other philoso-  
 phers. *Errare meherculè malo cum Platone—quam*  
*cum istis vera sentire.* I don't see how this thought  
 can consist with good sense. Is it ever just to pre-  
 fer error to truth, under whatever fine name or  
 specious form it may conceal itself ? We see here

postri tam aperta nescisse nos mirentur—Multa venientis ævi po-  
 pulus ignota nobis sciet.

the



the tendency of this kind of idolatry for great men. Only Religion has a right to captivate our minds in this manner, because it has God himself for its voucher, and there is no fear of erring with it.

Every body knows how much nature seems to affect concealing her secrets from us. To discover her mysteries, it is necessary to follow her step by step; we must, to use the expression, surprise her in her operations; we must make observations and experiments; we must have a due number of phænomena, in order to establish a just principle for explaining them; and experiments must verify conjectures. The Antients practised all I have now said to a certain degree, and not without success. But the sagacity of the Moderns, assisted by the invention of many new instruments, has rose exceedingly upon their knowledge. The principal of these new inventions are the telescope, the microscope, the Torricellian tube, or the barometer, and the air-pump.

One Zachariah Jansen invented the telescope and microscope about the end of the sixteenth century; Torricelli the tube, which bears his name, otherwise called the barometer, about the middle of the seventeenth century; and Otho Guerick the air-pump, some time after.

Zachariah Jansen was an Hollander of Middleburg in Zeland, by trade a spectacle-maker. Chance, by which a great number of the finest discoveries are made, and under which divine Providence delights to conceal itself, had a great share in this of Jansen. Without any premeditated design, he placed two spectacle-glasses at a certain distance opposite to each other, and perceived, that the two glasses in that situation magnified objects considerably. In consequence he fixed glasses in that manner, and from the year 1590 made one of the length of twelve inches. Such was the origin of the telescope, which was afterwards greatly improved.

The inventor of the telescope did in little almost what he had done in large ; and from thence came the microscope. To the former of these instruments we are indebted for the knowledge of the heavens, at least in part ; and to the latter for that of a new little world. For we must not believe that we see every thing that inhabits the earth. There are as many species of invisible as visible animals. We see them from the elephant to the mite. And there our sight ends. But at the mite begins an infinite multitude of animals, of which that insect is the elephant, and which our eyes cannot discern without aid. By the help of the microscope we see thousands of insects, swimming and darting to and fro, in the hundredth part of a drop of water. Lewenhoeck says, that he has seen fifty thousand in a very small drop of liquor.

These glasses may be said to be a new organ of sight, which one could not have presumed to expect from the hands of Art. How much would the antients have been surpris'd, if it had been foretold to them, that, by the means of certain instruments, their posterity should one day see an infinity of objects not seen by them : an heaven unknown to them, and plants and animals, of which they did not so much as suspect the possibility !

Torricelli was Mathematician to the Duke of Florence, and Galileo's successor. Galileo was for having the efficacy of the horror of a Vacuum occasion water to rise in pumps, to about two and thirty feet, and to support it there, where he fixed that famous efficacy. In 1643, Torricelli tried the efficacy of this imaginary horror in quicksilver. He caused a glass tube of three or four feet to be made and sealed at the end hermetically. This he filled with quicksilver, and turned it upside down as is still practis'd. The quicksilver came down, but stopped, as of itself, at the depth of between twenty-seven and twenty-eight inches.

Otho

Otho Guerick, consul of Magdeburg, formed the design of trying a much greater kind of Vacuum than that of the tube of Torricelli. Accordingly he caused a large round vessel of glass to be made, with a sufficiently small opening at bottom, and a pump and sucker to draw the air out of the vessel. And this was the origin of the air-pump. Wonders came from his hands, that amazed philosophers, no less than other people. With what astonishment, for instance, did they not see two brass basons, made exactly in the form of demispheres, and applied to each other at their edges, that could not be separated by eight horses on a side made fast to each of them, and drawing different ways!

It is easy to conceive how much these machines, and others of a like nature, invented by the moderns, and much improved by use itself, and length of time, must have conduced to the progress of Physical Observations.

But what has contributed most to it is the establishment of Academies. The last age gave birth to four of the most famous almost at the same time. *The Academy del Cimento*, at Florence; *the Royal Society*, at London; *the Royal Academy of Sciences*, at Paris; and *the Academy of the Curious in the secrets of nature*, in Germany. The desire of supporting the reputation of a body of which one is a member, and of distinguishing one's self by important works, is a powerful incentive with the learned, which keeps them almost continually in action. Besides which, only societies, and societies protected by the prince, are capable of making the necessary collection of observations and well attested facts, for establishing a future system. Neither the learning, pains, life, nor faculties of a single person suffice for that. Too great a number of experiments, of too many different kinds, all too frequently repeated in too many various manners, and



and pursued with the same spirit for too great a length of time, are necessary to that effect.

I admire the wisdom and modesty of the Academy of Sciences, that, notwithstanding the many learned Works with which it has enriched the public, and the many useful discoveries that are the fruits of its labours and observations, considers the sciences, at least physics, as still in their cradle. But I admire still more the religious use it makes of such curious knowledge, which, according to it, ought to inspire us with an high regard for the Author of nature, from the admiration of his works.

“ One can scarce help repeating often, say its memoirs, that in respect to the physics, the most common objects become so many miracles, as soon as we consider them with certain eyes.” And in another place, “ The sublime reflections in- to which physics lead us upon the Author of the universe, are not to be ranked amongst its simple curiosities. That great work, always the more wonderful the more it is known, gives us so high an idea of the artificer, that we find ourselves lost in admiration and reverence of him, as often as we look into it. True Physics rise so high as to become a kind of Theology.”

Before I proceed to the mathematics, I shall touch lightly upon Physic or Medicine, Anatomy, Botany, and Chymistry, all which are either parts of, or relate to, physics in general or natural philosophy. Tertullian calls the physician's art *the sister of philosophy*; and every body knows the three others depend on Physic.

## C H A P T E R IV.

I Treat what relates to Physic in a separate chapter, to which I add Botany, Chymistry, and Anatomy, which are parts of it, but of which I shall say very little.

## S E C T. I.

## O F P H Y S I C.

PHYSIC is undoubtedly of the same date with diseases, for men have endeavoured to rid themselves of them, ever since they knew them; and diseases are almost as antient as the world itself, because they were the effect and punishment of sin. Men were long each his own physician, and it is hard to fix the time when Physic was first made an art and profession. Necessity and experience made way for them. In certain countries, those who had been cured of some disease, wrote down how, and by what remedies it had been effected, and deposited those accounts in the temples, for the instruction of others in like cases. In other places, as in Egypt and Babyloni the sick were exposed in public, in order that such as passed by, who might have been sick and cured of the same distemper, might give them advice.

Plin. l. 29.  
in Procerm.

Her. l. 1.  
c. 197;  
Strab. l. 1.  
p. 155.  
& l. 16.  
p. 746.

The Egyptians considered their god Hermes, that is to say, Mercury, as the inventor of medicine. It is certain that they cultivated it both more antiently and more learnedly than any other people.

The Greeks disputed that glory with them, or at least followed them very close in it. They will supply us with all the physicians, of whom I shall speak: for the Romans applied themselves little to this science.

science. Before the Trojan war, Chiron the Thes-  
salian, surnamed the Centaur, who was Achilles's  
governor, made himself famous in physick by the  
cure of wounds, and the knowledge of simples, which  
he imparted to that hero, and his friend Patroclus.

Pindar.  
Pythior.  
Od. 3.

Æsculapius, Chiron's disciple, did not give place  
to his master. Pindar represents him as extremely  
versed in all the parts of physick. Fable tells us,  
Jupiter, enraged that he had restored Hippolytus  
the son of Theseus to life, killed him with thunder.  
Which intimates, that by his skill he cured such  
desperate diseases, that he was said to restore the  
dead to life.

Having been placed in the number of the immor-  
tals, temples were erected to him in different places  
as the god of health. The most famous was that  
of Epidaurus. It was from thence, in consequence  
of a famous deputation, at the head of which was  
Q. Ogulnius, that he is pretended to have come to  
Rome in the form of a serpent, and to have de-  
livered the city from the plague in the year 461,  
from its foundation. A temple was afterwards  
built for him without the walls. That of Cos, the  
country of Hippocrates, was also very famous. In it  
were several tables or paintings, on which were written  
down the remedies the god had directed many sick  
persons to take, who had been cured in effect.

Steph.  
Byzant. in  
voce *Syrna*

Homer gives Æsculapius two sons, both famous  
physicians, of whom mention is made in the Iliad;  
the one called Machaon, very expert in chirurgical  
operations, which in those times, as well as in suc-  
ceeding ages, was not distinct from the practice of  
physick; the other Podalirius, more versed in the  
kind of physick called afterwards *λογικὴ*, that is to  
say, founded upon principles and reasonings. On  
his return from the Trojan war, Podalirius was  
driven by a tempest upon the coasts of Caria, where  
he cured a daughter of king Damæthus, by bleed-  
her in both arms. The father, by way of reward,  
gave



gave her to him in marriage. Amongst other children, he had one called Hippolochus, from whom Hippocrates said he was descended.

Pliny supposes an interval of six or seven hundred years between the siege of Troy and the Peloponnesian war, that is to say, the time of Hippocrates: which is not entirely exact. Celsus places Pythagoras, who lived in the time of Cyrus and his two successors, and some other philosophers, as Empedocles and Democritus, in the number of celebrated physicians. Plin. l. 29.  
C. 1.  
Cels. in  
Præf.

Physicians are distinguished into different classes and sects. Some are called *Empirics*, because they followed experience almost entirely in their practice. Others, of whom Hippocrates was the chief, joined reason with experience, which kind of physic took the name of *Dogmatic* or *Rational* from them. Some affected to depart from all other physicians, and to follow a peculiar method of their own: these were called the *Methodists*. I shall not confine myself scrupulously to this division. I shall only follow the order of time, and speak of such physicians as were most known. All the different sects of physicians, for there is a great number of them, are learnedly treated on in Mr. Daniel le Clerc's history of physic, a work of profound erudition.

DEMOCEDES of Crotona gave proofs of his skill, in restoring sleep and health to king Darius, whom sprain of the foot, occasioned by a fall from his horse, kept perpetually awake, and in excessive pain, which the physicians of the country were not able to remove. He afterwards cured the queen Atossa of an ulcer, which she had long concealed out of modesty. I have related this physician's history, with that of Darius. A. M.  
3485.  
Ant. J. C.  
519.  
Her. l. 3.  
P. 124, 133.

HEROPHILUS acquired also great fame by physic. He made much use of botany, and still more of anatomy, in which he made great improvements. The princes permitted him to dissect the living bodies A. M.  
3704.  
Ant. J. C.  
300.  
Galen.  
Comment.  
11 in lib.  
Hippoc.

bodies of condemned criminals, of whom a great number passed through his hands. \* This made Tertullian call him an executioner rather than a physician.

A. M. 3540. Ant. J. C. 464. Eustath. in Iliad. HERODICUS of Sicily flourished under Artaxerxes Longimanus. The sect called *Διαίτητική*, from using scarce any remedy except diet and a regimen of life, acknowledged him their chief; as well as that called *Gymnastic* sect, from making great use of the exercise of the body for restoring and confirming health. He was the brother of the famous rhetorician Gorgias, but is best known by one of his disciples.

A. M. 3544. Ant. J. C. 460. HIPPOCRATES, of the island of Cos, is that illustrious disciple. His birth is dated the first year of the LXXXth Olympiad. He is said to have descended from Æsculapius by Heraclides his father, and from Hercules by his mother Praxitea. He first applied himself to the study of natural things in general, and afterwards to that of the human body in particular. His own father was his first master. He also received lessons from another celebrated physician, Herodicus, of whom I spoke last. He made a great proficiency in all the parts of physic, and carried the knowledge of it as high as was possible in those days.

I have already said that he was born at Cos. That island was consecrated to the god Æsculapius, who was adored there in a particular manner. It was a custom for all, who had been cured of any distemper, to make an exact memorandum of the symptoms that had attended it, and the remedies by which they had been relieved. Hippocrates had caused all these accounts to be copied, which were of no small advantage to him, and served him instead of a great length of experience.

\* Herophilus ille medicus, aut lanus, qui sexcentos execut, ut naturam scrutaretur: qui homines odit, ut nosset. *Tertul. lib. de anima*, c. 10.

His vast capacity appeared in a peculiar manner during the plague, that raged particularly in the city of Athens and throughout Attica during the Peloponnesian war. I have related elsewhere his great zeal and devotion for the preservation of his country, the noble disinterestedness which induced him to refuse the advantageous offers of the king of Persia, and the extraordinary honours with which Greece thought it incumbent upon itself to reward the important services he had rendered it.

The people of Abdera are said to have written to Hippocrates to desire him to come thither to visit Democritus. They saw that philosopher regardless of every thing, laugh at every thing, say that the air was full of images, and boast that he made voyages into the vast immense of things. Considering all this as so many symptoms and beginnings of phrenzy, they were afraid he would run mad, and that his great learning would entirely turn his brain. Hippocrates set them right and judged very differently of Democritus's condition. It is not certain that the letters ascribed to Hippocrates, from whence this fact is taken, are genuine.

The writings which he left behind him in great number, have always been and still are considered, as the most perfect in this kind, and as the best and most proper foundation for the study of physick. He has preserved the remembrance of an event in them, which does him still more honour than all learning and capacity. It is the sincere confession of an error, which he had committed in dressing a wound in the head: for antiently, as we have observed, physick, surgery, and pharmacy, were not distinct professions. \* He is not ashamed to own, at the

\* De futuris se deceptum esse Hippocrates memoriæ prodidit, more magnorum virorum, & fiduciam magnarum rerum habentium. Nam levia ingenia, quia nihil habent, nihil sibi detrahunt. Magno ingenio, multaque nihilominus habituro, convenit etiam veri erroris confessio, præcipuè in eo ministerio, quod utilitatis causa posteris traditur, ne qui decipiantur eadem ratione qua quis deceptus est. *Cels. l. 8. c. 4.*



expenſe in ſome meaſure of his glory, that he was miſtaken; left others, after him, and by his example, ſhould fall into the ſame error. Little minds, ſays Celfus, and men of vulgar abilities, do not act in this manner, but are much more careful of the ſmall reputation they have, becauſe they can loſe nothing without impoveriſhing themſelves. Only great geniusses, conſcious to themſelves of the abundance they otherwiſe poſſeſs, are capable of ſuch a confeſſion, and of neglecting the little loſſes that diminiſh nothing of their riches and opulence.

He makes alſo another confeſſion, that argues an admirable ſpirit of candour and ingenuity. On forty-two patients, whoſe diſtempers he deſcribes in his firſt and third books *upon epidemical diſeaſes* he owns that he cured only ſeventeen, that the reſt died under his hands. In the ſecond book of the ſame work, ſpeaking of a kind of quiniſey, attended with dangerous ſymptoms, he ſays, that all his patients recovered. *Had they died,* adds he, *I ſhould have ſaid ſo with the ſame freedom.*

Lib. de  
arte.

In another place, he complains modeſtly of the injuſtice of thoſe who cry down phyſic, under the pretence, that many people die in the hands of phyſicians. As if, ſays he, the death of the patient might not be imputed to the unfurmountable violence of the diſtemper, as much, or rather more than to the fault of the phyſician.

Lib. præ-  
reptionum.

He declares, that it is no diſhonour to a phyſician, when he is at a loſs how to act in certain diſſicult caſes, to call in other phyſicians, in order to conſult with them upon what is neceſſary to be done for the patient's good. From whence we ſee that ſuch conſultations are an antient cuſtom.

The character of a truly honeſt man, and one of the greateſt probity, appears in the oath of Hippocrates, with which he introduces his works. He calls the gods, who preſide over phyſic, to witneſs the ſincere deſire he has to diſcharge exactly all the

the duties of his station. He expresses a warm and respectful gratitude for him who taught him the art of physic, and declares that he shall always consider him as his father, and his children as his own brothers, whom he shall make it his duty to assist upon all occasions, both with his fortune and advice. He protests, that, in the regimen which he shall prescribe for the sick, he shall take great care to consult what may be best for them, and to avoid whatever may be to their prejudice. He proposes to himself the leading of a pure and irreproachable life, and not to dishonour his profession by any action worthy of blame. He says that he shall never undertake to cut for the stone, and shall leave that operation to persons whom long experience has rendered dexterous at it. He protests that, if in visiting his patients or otherwise, he shall discover any thing which ought to be concealed, that he will never reveal it, but will inviolably observe the sacred law of secrecy. And lastly he hopes, by his punctual attachment to all these rules, that he shall acquire the esteem of posterity, and consents to forfeit the good opinion of the world for ever, if he is so unfortunate as to depart from them.

He is highly praised for his disinterestedness, a most estimable virtue in a physician. What he says upon this subject is worthy of remark. He is for having the physician act, in respect to his fees, with honour and humanity, and regulate them by the patient's power to reward them more or less liberally. There are even occasions, says he, on which a physician ought neither to ask nor to expect reward; as in the cases of strangers and the poor, whom all the world are obliged to assist.

He appears to have been full of respect for the Divinity. "Those, says he, who first discovered the manner of curing diseases, believed it an art, of which the invention ought to be attributed to  
 Vol. III. E e "God."

In Lib.  
præceptio-  
num.

De pris-  
medic.

“ God.” I have already observed elsewhere, that  
 Tusc. Cicero was of the same opinion : *Deorum immorta-*  
 Quæst. 1. 3. *lium inventioni consecrata est ars medica.*

Nothing is particularly known of the death of Hippocrates. He died at a very advanced age, and left two sons, THESSALUS and DRACO, who acquired great reputation amongst the physicians, as well as POLYBIUS, his son-in-law and successor.

I have spoken, in the history of Philip, of the ridiculous vanity of a physician called MENECRATES, whom that prince treated as he deserved.

A. M. PHILIP of Acarnania is known from the salutary  
 3671. draught he gave Alexander the Great, which saved  
 Ant. J. C. his life, at a time when endeavours had been used  
 333. to render that physician suspected.

A. M. ERASISTRATUS made himself known and esteem-  
 3722. ed by his address in discovering the cause of the  
 Ant. J. C. sickness of Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus  
 282. king of Syria. I have related the fact in its place.  
 Val. Max. I. 5. c. 7.  
 Vol. VII.

Plin. 1. 29. If Pliny may be believed, that wonderful cure which  
 in Proöm. restored a tenderly beloved son to his father, was rewarded with an hundred talents, that is to say, an hundred thousand crowns.

A. M. APOLLOPHANES, physician to Antiochus surnamed  
 3785. the Great, was very learned in his profession ; but  
 Ant. J. C. became still more famous by the important service  
 219. which he rendered his master. Hermias, the first  
 Vol. VIII. minister of that prince, committed unheard of extortions and oppressions, and had rendered himself so terrible, that no-body dared lay their complaints before the court. Apollophanes had so much love for the public good, as not to fear risking his fortune for it. He discovered the general discontent of the kingdom to the king, and left that lesson to physicians, upon the use they ought to make of their freedom of access to princes.

A. M. MITHRIDATES, who was so long the terror of  
 3860. the Romans, distinguished himself highly in physic,  
 Ant. J. C. not only by the invention of the antidote that still  
 124. bears



bears his name, but the composition of several learned works, which Pompey made Lenæus his freed-man translate into Latin.

ASCLEPIADES of Bithynia, who at first taught A. M. eloquence at Rome, quitted the profession of a rhetorician to take up that of a physician, which he believed more profitable than the other, and was not mistaken. He introduced an entire change in the practice observed before him, and departed almost in every thing from the principles and rules of Hippocrates. To solid and profound knowledge he substituted the insinuation and repute of a fine speaker, which often pass for merit with the sick. He also made it his business to flatter their taste, and gratify their desires to the utmost of his power, a certain means for gaining their confidence. His maxim was, that a physician ought to cure his patients, \* *safely, soon, and agreeably*. This practice is much to be desired, says Celsus. But the misfortune is, that to endeavour to cure too soon, and to prescribe nothing but what is agreeable, are generally attended with great danger. What contributed most to bring him into vogue was his luckily meeting a man, that his friends were going to inter, in whom he found some remains of life, and whom he restored to perfect health. Pliny often mentions this physician, but with very little esteem.

THEMISON, the disciple of Asclepiades, was a native of Laodicæa. He made some alteration in his master's system, when he was old. The sect which he formed, was called the *Methodic sect*, because he thought proper to establish a method for rendering physic more easy to learn and practise. Juvenal does not speak in his favour :

Quot Themison ægros autumnno occiderit uno. Sat. 10. l. 4.

\* Asclepiades officium esse medici dicit, ut tutò, celeritèr, & jucundè curet. Id votum est; sed fere periculosa esse nimia & festinatio & voluptas solet. Cels. l. 3. c. 4.

————— *As many, with his pills  
As in one autumn learn'd Themison kills.*

Cicero and Horace mention CRATERUS as a learned physician.

A. D. 66. DIOSCORIDES (*Pedacius*) a physician of Anazarba, a city of Cilicia, afterwards called Cæsarea. Vossius, after Suidas, says, that he was physician to Antony and Cleopatra. It is believed that they confound him with another Dioscorides, surnamed *Phacas*. The person meant here might live in Vespasian's time. Some of the Learned have disputed, whether Pliny copied Dioscorides, or the latter extracted his work from Pliny. These two authors wrote at the same time, and upon the same subjects, without ever citing each other. The subject treated by Dioscorides is the *Materia Medica*, the matter or elements of medicine. All bodies used in physic are so called, and are principally reduced to three species: plants, animals, and minerals, or things of the nature of the earth.

Sueton. in  
Aug. c. 81.  
Dion. Cass.  
l. 53. p.  
517. ANTONIUS MUSA, the freedman, physician of the emperor Augustus, cured him of a dangerous distemper, which had reduced him to the last extremity, by treating him in a manner quite different from what had been used before, and making him use cold baths, and refreshing draughts. This happy cure, besides the great presents made him by the emperor and the senate, acquired Musa the privilege of wearing a gold ring, which till then had been granted only to persons of the first condition. All physicians, on Musa's account, were exempted from all taxes for ever. The Roman people, to express their gratitude, caused a statue to be erected to him near that of Æsculapius. \* He took the same method with Horace,

Epist. 15.  
l. 1.

\* ————— Nam mihi Baias  
Musa supervacuas Antonius, & tamen illis  
Me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda  
Per medium frigus.

and

and made him use the cold bath in the midst of winter.

CORNELIUS CELSUS is believed to have lived in the reign of Tiberius. He was very learned, and had written upon all kinds of subjects. Quintilian, L. 12. C. 14. who highly extols his erudition, terms him however only an indifferent genius: *Cornelius Celsus, mediocri vir ingenio*. I don't know whether the physicians agree with him in this point. We have eight books of his upon physick, which are wrote in very good Latin.

GALEN, the most celebrated of physicians next A. D. 131. to Hippocrates, was of Pergamus. He lived in the reigns of Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and some other emperors. He was educated with great care in the study of polite learning, philosophy, and the mathematics. When he had made choice of the profession of physick, he devoted himself entirely to it, went to many of the cities of Greece, to receive lessons from the most famous masters in that science, and continued particularly at Alexandria in Egypt, where the study of physick flourished at that time, more than in any other part of the world. When he returned into his own country, he knew how to make great use of the precious treasures of learning which he had collected in his travels. His principal application was in studying Hippocrates, whom he always considered as his master, and in whose steps he thought it his honour and duty to tread. He received his principles in all their force, which had been neglected and left in oblivion above six hundred years.

He went to Rome at the age of thirty-four, where he acquired great reputation, and at the same time drew upon himself no less envy from the other physicians. His extraordinary cures of patients absolutely given over, his sagacity in discovering the true causes of distempers that had escaped others, the certainty with which he often foretold all the



symptoms that were to happen, the effect his remedies would produce, and the time in which a perfect cure would be effected; all this occasioned his being considered, on the one side, by the unprejudiced, as a physician of extraordinary learning and talents; and on the other, by his jealous brethren, as a man who performed all his operations by the assistance of magic. At least they spread that report to depreciate him, if possible, in the opinion of the people and the Great.

A.D. 166. The plague, which happened some years after, and which made horrible ravages throughout Italy and in many other provinces, determined him to return into his country. If it was to take care of the people, his design was very generous and laudable.

A.D. 170. He did not continue long there. M. Aurelius, at his return from his expedition against the Germans, ordered him to Aquileia, from whence he afterwards brought him in his train to Rome. The emperor reposed great confidence in him. The rigid life which that prince led had very much impaired his health. He took a preparation of treacle every day to strengthen his stomach and lungs, which were very weak: this Galen made up for him. To this remedy the health he generally enjoyed, notwithstanding his great weakness, was attributed.

That prince, intending to return into Germany, was extremely desirous of carrying Galen thither with him, whose great abilities, and perfect knowledge of his constitution, made him more capable of serving him than any other physician. Galen, however, having desired him to leave him at Rome, the emperor, who was all goodness, complacency, and humanity, complied. I admire this condescension; but cannot conceive, how a physician in such a conjuncture could refuse himself to the desires of a prince so worthy of consideration.

Perhaps the design he had formed of writing upon physic, and which he might have already begun to put

put in execution, might occasion this refusal. And indeed it was after this expedition of M. Aurelius till his death, and during the reign of Commodus, his son and successor, that Galen composed and published his writings upon physic, whether during his abode at Rome, or after his retirement into his own country. Part of his writings were lost in the conflagration which destroyed whole quarters of Rome and many libraries, in the reign of the emperor Commodus. The place and time of Galen's death are not exactly known.

A fact, which Galen relates himself, shews us both his vast ability, and the esteem which M. Aurelius had for him. “ That prince, says he, having been suddenly seized in the night with a cholic and looseness, which made him feverish, his physicians ordered him to lie still, and gave him only a little broth in the space of nine hours. The same physicians, returning afterwards to the emperor, where I happened to be, judged from his pulse, that he had a fever coming on him: for my part, I continued silent, and even without feeling his pulse in my turn. This induced the emperor to ask me, turning towards the side where I was, why I did not come to him? To which I answered, that his physicians having already felt his pulse twice, I came into what they had done, not doubting but that they were better judges of his pulse than me. The prince however offering me his arm, I then felt his pulse, and having examined it with abundance of attention, I declared that there was not the least sign of the access of a fever, but that his stomach was clogged with some indigested food which occasioned his being feverish. M. Aurelius was so well convinced of what I said, that he cried out: *That's it; you have hit it exactly: I feel my stomach clogged;* and repeated the same two or three times over. He afterwards asked

Gal. de  
Præcog-  
nitione,  
c. 11.

“ me, what was to be done to relieve him? I replied, if any other person except the emperor were in the same condition, I should give him a little pepper in wine, as I have often done upon the like occasion. But, as it is the custom to give no remedies to princes, but what are very gentle, it will suffice to apply some wool steeped in oil of spike very hot to the emperor’s stomach. M. Aurelius, continues Galen, did not fail to take both those remedies, and addressing himself afterwards to Pitholaus, his son’s governor: *We have but one physician*, said he, speaking of me. *He’s the only man of value we have.*”

The manners of that illustrious physician suited his ability and reputation. He expresses great respect for the Divinity in abundance of places; and says, “ That piety does not consist in offering incense or sacrifices to him; but in knowing and admiring the wisdom, power, and goodness, that shines forth in all his works one’s self, and in making others know and admire them. He had the misfortune of not knowing, and even of condemning the true religion.”

He never mentions his father, or his masters, but with the warmest and most respectful gratitude, especially when he speaks of Hippocrates, to whom he ascribes the whole honour of all he knew or practised. If he departs sometimes from his opinion, for he respected truth above all things, it is with such precautions and reservations, as argue the sincere esteem he had for him, and how much he considered himself below him in every thing whatsoever.

His assiduity about the sick, the time which he bestowed upon knowing their condition exactly, the care which he took of the poor, and the relief he procured them, are fine models for the imitation of persons of the same profession.

Plin. l. 25.  
c. 1.

We read in Pliny, that ARCHAGATUS of Peloponnesus was the first physician who came to Rome:



Rome: this was in the consulship of L. Æmilius and L. Julius, the 535th year from the foundation of the city. It would be surprising if the Romans were so long without physicians. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, speaking of a plague, which swept off almost all the slaves and half the citizens in the 301st year of Rome, says, that there were not physicians enough for the number of the sick. There were physicians then at that time. But it is probable, that the Romans, till the arrival of Archagathus, used only the natural, or the simple Empiric kind of physic, such as we may suppose it practised by the first men. That physician was treated very honourably at first, and rewarded with the freedom of the city: but the violent remedies which he was obliged to use, for his principal excellency consisted in surgery, soon disgusted the people both of him and of physic in general. It seems however, that many physicians came from Greece to Rome to practise their art, though Cato, during his life, opposed it with his whole power. For, in the decree, by which, many years after the death of that celebrated censor, the Greeks were obliged to quit Rome, the physicians are mentioned expressly. \* Till Pliny's time, of all professions, that of physic, as gainful as it was, was the only one no Roman had followed, because they believed it below them; and, if any did practise it, it was, to use the expression, only in going over to the Grecian camp, and speaking their language: for such was the folly and madness of the Romans, and even of the lowest of the people, that they would confide only in strangers, as if their health and lives had

A. M.  
3780.  
Ant. J. C.  
215.  
Antiq.  
Rom. l. 10.  
p. 677.

\* Solam hanc artium Græcarum nondum exercet Romana gravitas in tanto fructu: paucissimi Quiritium attigere, & ipsi statim ad Græcos transfugæ. Imò verò auctoritas aliter, quàm Græcè eam tractantibus, etiam apud imperitos expertesque linguæ, non est: ac minùs credunt, quæ ad salutem suam pertinent, si intelligunt. *Plin.* l. 29. c. 1.

been most safe in the hands of those, whose very language they did not understand.

M. Burette.

It is difficult, and indeed foreign to my subject, to determine in respect to the merit of the antient and modern physic, and to give the one the preference to the other. They have each their peculiar advantages, which render both highly estimable. It is natural to conceive, that the experience of many ages must have added considerable lights to the knowledge of the antients. I desired a learned physician, one of my brethren in the college royal and the academy of Belles Letters, and my particular friend, to favour me with a few lines upon what I might say with reason upon a subject absolutely unknown to me. I shall content myself with inserting them here, without any addition :

“ The new discoveries which have enriched the  
“ physick of the moderns, and which may give it  
“ the preference to that of the antients, are :

“ 1. Those of anatomy, which have made it  
“ more perfectly acquainted with the structure of  
“ the human body, and the wonders of the animal  
“ œconomy ; amongst others, the circulation of  
“ the blood, with all its relations and dependences :  
“ which has given it a great insight into the causes  
“ of diseases, and the manner of treating them.

“ 2. Those of surgery, which, besides many very  
“ salutary operations added to those of the antients,  
“ have rendered the modern practice more safe and  
“ and expeditious, and less painful.

“ 3. Those of pharmacy, which consists in the  
“ knowledge and use of many specific remedies for  
“ the cure of certain diseases ; as *Quinquina* for the  
“ ague, *Ipecacuanha* for the dysentery, &c. without  
“ reckoning those which chymistry has rendered  
“ more efficacious and less disgusting.

“ 4. The opening of bodies that have died of  
“ diseases an abundant source of the most impor-  
“ tant

“ tant observations, for improving the practice of  
 “ phyfic in the treatment of the same diseases.

“ The phyfic of the antients is perhaps to be  
 “ preferred to that of the moderns, in being less  
 “ profuse of medicines in sickness, and less desirous  
 “ to precipitate cures; in observing the motions of  
 “ nature with more attention, and assisting them  
 “ with greater confidence; and in being contented  
 “ to divide the honour of the cure with nature,  
 “ without arrogating the whole glory of it to it-  
 “ self, &c.”

Phyfic, however useful and salutary, has had the  
 misfortune to be the butt, almost in all times, even  
 of great and highly estimable persons, especially  
 amongst the Romans. \* Cato, to whose authority  
 a triumph and the censorship add nothing, so much  
 was his personal merit superior to all titles, was one  
 of those who declared himself most strongly against  
 the physicians, as we see in a letter to his son, pre-  
 served by Pliny. But we must observe, that he  
 means in it only the physicians from Greece, to  
 which nation he has abundance of ill-will. “ You †  
 “ may depend upon what I am going to say as a  
 “ certain prediction. If ever that nation (meaning  
 “ Greece) should impart to us their taste for letters,  
 “ we are undone; and especially if they send us  
 “ their physicians. They have sworn amongst them-  
 “ selves to destroy all the Barbarians with their art.”  
 The Greeks called all other nations by that name.  
 So excessive an exaggeration refutes itself, and suf-  
 ficiently explains what we ought to think of it.

Pliny the Naturalist was much in the same way  
 of thinking. He seems to have made it his busi-

\* Quod clarissimè intelligi potest ex M. Catone, cujus auctoritati  
 Triumphus atque Censura minimum conferunt: tanto plus in ipso  
 est. *Plin. l. 29. c. 1.*

† Nequissimum & indocile genus illorum. Et hoc puta Vatem  
 dixisse: Quandocumque ista gens suas literas dabit, omnia corrumpet.  
 Tum etiam magis, si medicos suos huc mittet. Jurarunt in-  
 ter se barbaros necare omnes medicina. *Ibid.*



ness to decry the physicians, by throwing together all that could make them contemptible and even odious. He taxes them with avarice, upon account of the considerable rewards they received from princes: but ought the generous gratitude of the latter to be imputed to physicians? He reports the depravity of manners into which some of them fell: but were not these faults personal, and ought they not to be atoned for by the infinite services which others of the same profession have done mankind in all ages? He takes pains to turn the consultations of physicians into ridicule: he repeats an antient inscription upon a tomb, in which the deceased said, that he died of a multitude of physicians: *TURBA SE MEDICORUM PERIISSE*. He complains that of all the arts physic is allowed to be practised without undergoing any examination, or giving any proofs of its ability. “ They learn it, \* says he, at our hazard, and acquire experience at the price of our lives. No law punishes their ignorance; nor is there any example of its being chastised. Only a physician can murder with absolute impunity.” Pliny has reason for these complaints; but they extend only to Empirics, that is to say, persons of no repute, authority, or learning, who take upon them to practise that, of all the arts, which stands the most in need of these qualifications.

Ecclesiast.  
xxix. 1—  
14.

Extremes are not to be admitted upon this head, in which blind confidence, and ill-grounded contempt, may be equally dangerous. The holy scripture, which is the rule of our opinions, prescribes both to the patient and physician how they ought to think and act: “ Honour the physician with the honour due unto him, for the uses which you may have of him: for the Lord hath created

\* *Nulla lex quæ puniat inscitiam: capitale nullum exemplum vindictæ. Discunt periculis nostris, & experimenta per mortes agunt: medicoque tantum hominem occidisse impunitas summa est. Plin. l. 29. c. 1.*

him—The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them—Was not the water made sweet with wood, that the virtue thereof [*of plants*] might be known? And he hath given men skill, that he might be honoured in his marvellous works—My son, in thy sickness be not negligent; but pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole: Then give place unto the physician; for the Lord hath created him: let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him. There is a time when in their hands there is good success; for they shall also pray unto the Lord, that he would prosper that which they give, for ease and remedy to prolong life.” Only the Spirit of God is capable of giving such wise and reasonable advice.

## S E C T. II.

## OF BOTANY.

**B**OTANY is a science which treats of plants. This branch of knowledge has been esteemed in all ages and nations. Mankind are generally enough convinced, that all physic is included in Simples; \* and there is great reason to believe, that it had its beginning in these remedies, which are simple, natural, of no expence, always at hand, and within the capacity of the poorest person. Pliny cannot bear that, instead of using them, people should go at a great expence to the most remote countries in quest of medicines. Accordingly we see, that the most antient physicians distinguished themselves by the knowledge and use of simples: *Æsculapius*, Pæoniis revocatum herbis. who, if we may believe fable, restored *Hippolytus* to life by the use of them; *Chiron*, the master of *Virg.* *Achilles*, so skilful in physic; *Jaspis*, to whom his

\* Hinc nata Medicina. Hæc sola naturæ placuerat esse remedia, parata vulgo, inventu facilia, ac sine impendio—Ulceri parvo medicina à Rubro mari imputatur, cum remedia vera quotidie pauperissimus quisque cœnet. *Plin.* l. 24. c. 21.

father Apollo, the god of phyfic, granted, as a rare gift, the knowledge of Simples :

Scire potestates herbarum, ufumque medendi.

*Æn.* l. 12. v. 396.

*To know the pow'rs of herbs, and arts of cure.*

Botany is one of the parts of natural philosophy: it calls in the aid of chymiftry; and is of great ufe in phyfic. Natural philosophy, or physics in general, confiders the internal ftructure of plants, their vegetation, generation, and multiplication. Chymiftry reduces them to their principles or elements. Phyfic derives from thefe elemental principles, and ftill more frequently from the experience of the effects of plants, when employed in fubftance, the ufe to be made of them for the health of an human body. The union of thefe feveral branches of knowledge in the fame perfon forms an excellent character, but is not neceffary to Botany properly fo called, whole bounds are lefs extenfive, within which it may confine itfelf with honour. To make plants a peculiar ftudy, to know their moft effential marks, to be able to name them in a fhort and eafy method, that reduces them to their proper and refpective kinds and claffes, to describe them in terms fo as to be known to thofe who never faw them; thefe are precifely the functions of a botanift confidered as fuch.

In the earlier times, the knowledge of plants feems to have been purely medicinal: which is what rendered the catalogue of them fo fhort and fo limited, that Theophrastus, the beft hiftorian of antiquity come down to us upon this fubject, names only fix hundred, though he had collected not only thofe of Greece, but of Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Arabia. Dioscorides and Pliny, though they might have had better and ampler memoirs upon this head, have fcarce cited more. But, far from having eftablifhed any order amongst them, they have not described thofe of which they fpeak, in a  
proper



proper manner to distinguish and make them known; and have many, even of the most important in their collection, that are not now to be found.

The ages which succeeded that of Dioscorides, added little riches to Botany. And indeed at length all the sciences were eclipsed, and did not appear again till the fifteenth century, when every body was intent upon hearing the antients, in order to retrieve the learning which had been so long buried in oblivion. Pope Nicholas V. commissioned Theodore Gaza to translate Theophrastus, as the only man capable of making him understood. Soon after other learned men laboured successively in translating Dioscorides. These versions, though very estimable in other respects, served only to excite disputes between many very learned physicians.

The search after plants in the books of the Greeks and Latins was from that time conceived not the best method of making any great progress in the knowledge of them. Accordingly resolutions were taken to go in quest of it to the places where the antients had written. With this view voyages were made to the islands of the Archipelago, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt. These excursions were useless enough with respect to their principal design, the understanding of the antient authors: but, the Learned having brought back a great number of plants which they discovered themselves, botany began to appear in its true form, and to change what before was only citation and comment into natural observations and a regular science. About the end of the Fifteenth Century, they confined themselves solely to describing the plants of their own countries, or of those into which greater curiosity had carried the lovers of botany; and they began to point out the places where each plant grew, the time of its coming up, its duration and maturity, with figures, that constitute the principal value of this kind of works, from the clearness they  
give

give them. Various collections which appeared at that time, instead of the five or six hundred extracted by Matthioli from the antients, included in the beginning of the sixteenth century more than six thousand, all described with their figures.

There was still wanting however a general order, or system, to the knowledge of plants, which might make it a science properly so called, by giving it principles and a method. Upon this several of the Learned employed themselves afterwards, with a success, not indeed perfect hitherto, (for sciences attain their ultimate perfection only from succession of time) but which afforded great views and insight for arriving at that perfection.

The System of botany at length received its last form from Monsieur Tournefort. His institutions, attended with the description and designs of an immense number of plants, will be an eternal monument of the vastness of his views, and his laborious inquiries, which cost him incredible fatigues, indispensably necessary to the design he proposed. For botany, says Mr. Fontenelle in his oration in praise of Mr. Tournefort, is not a sedentary and inactive science, that may be attained in the repose and shade of a closet, like geometry or history; or which, at most, like chymistry, anatomy, and astronomy, requires operations of no great pains and application. To succeed in it, the student must range over mountains and forests, must climb steep rocks, and expose himself upon the brinks of precipices. The only books, that can instruct him fully in this subject, are sprinkled over the face of the whole earth, and, to peruse and collect them, he must resolve upon fatigue and danger.

To succeed in the design of carrying botany to the greatest perfection, or at least to approach it, it would be necessary to study Theophrastus and Dioscorides in Greece, Asia, Egypt, Africa, and in all the places where they lived, or with which they

they were more particularly acquainted. Monsieur Tournefort received the king's orders, in 1700, to make the tour of those provinces, not only in order for knowing the plants of the antients, and perhaps also such others as might have escaped them, but for making observations upon natural history in general. These are expences worthy of a prince of Lewis XIVth's magnificence, and will do him infinite honour throughout all ages. The plague, which then raged in Egypt, abridged Mr. Tournefort's travels to his great regret, and made him return from Smyrna into France in 1702. He arrived, as a great poet says upon a more pompous but less useful occasion, *laden with the spoils of the East*. Besides an infinity of various observations, he brought back thirteen hundred and fifty-six new species of plants, without including those which he had collected in his former travels. What vast riches!

*Spoliis O-  
rientis  
onustus.  
Virg.*

It was necessary to dispose them in an order that might facilitate the knowledge of them. This Mr. Tournefort had before laboured in his first work, published in the year 1694. By the new order which he established, the whole were reduced into fourteen figures of flowers, by the means of which we descend to six hundred and seventy-three kinds, or distinct Genusses, that contain under them eight thousand eight hundred and forty-six Species of Plants.

Since Monsieur Tournefort's death, botany has been greatly augmented, and new additions are every day made to it by the pains and application of those who have the care of this part of physic in the royal garden of France, especially since the direction of it has been given to the Count de Maurepas, secretary of state, who not only delights, but thinks it his duty, to protect learning and learned men.

I ought here to express my gratitude to \* Mon-

\* Doctor-regent in the faculty of physic in the university of Paris, professor and demonstrator of plants in the garden-royal, &c.



sieur Jussieu senior, who communicated one of his memoirs upon botany to me.

## S E C T. III.

## O F C H Y M I S T R Y.

**C**HYMISTRY is an art which teaches to separate by fire the different substances contained in mixed bodies, or, which is the same thing, in vegetables, minerals, and animals; that is to say, to make the analysis of natural bodies, to reduce them into their first principles, and to discover their hidden virtues. It may be of use both to physicians in particular for the discovery of medicines, and natural philosophers in general for the knowledge of nature. It does not appear, that the antients made much use of it, though perhaps it was not unknown to them.

Paracelsus, who lived in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and taught physic at Basil, acquired great reputation there, by curing many persons of diseases believed incurable with chymical remedies. He boasted, that he could preserve a man's life during many ages, and died himself at fourscore and eight.

Mem. de  
l'acad. des  
sciences,  
an. 1700.

Mr. Lemery, so expert and famous in chymistry, declared almost all analyses to be no more than the curiosity of philosophers, and believed that, in respect to physic, chymistry, in reducing mixed bodies to their principles, reduced them often to nothing. I shall relate one of his experiments, which is curious, and intelligible to every body.

He made an *Ætna* or *Vesuvius*, by burying at the depth of a foot in the ground, during the summer, fifty pounds of filings of iron and sulphur pulverised in equal quantities, the whole made into a paste with water. In about eight or nine hours time, the earth swelled, and opened itself in several places;

places; and emitted hot and sulphurous vapours, and at length flames.

It is easy to conceive, that a greater quantity of this mixture of iron and sulphur with a proportionate depth of earth was all that was wanting to form a real mount *Ætna*: That the sulphurous vapours would, in endeavouring a passage, have occasioned an earthquake more or less violent, according to their force and the obstacles in their way: That, when they either found or made themselves a vent, they would break out with an impetuosity to occasion an hurricane: That, if they made their way through a part of the earth under the sea, they would occasion those water-spouts so dangerous to ships: And, lastly, that, if they rose to the clouds, they would carry their sulphur thither along with them, which would produce thunder.

There is a kind of chimerical chymistry that proposes the transmutation of metals as its object, and is called *Alchymy*, or *Seeking the philosopher's stone*.

## S E C T. IV.

## OF ANATOMY.

**A**NATOMY is a science that teaches the knowledge of the parts of an human body, and of other animals, by dissection. Those who have written upon anatomy amongst the antients, are Hippocrates, Democritus, Aristotle, Erasistratus, Galen, \*Herophylus, and many others, who perfectly knew the necessity of it, and considered it as the most important part of physic, without which it was impossible to know the use of the parts of an human body, and consequently the causes of diseases. It was, however, entirely renounced for many ages, and was not re-instated till the sixteenth century. The dissection of an human body was

\* According to Tertullian, this Herophylus, in order to know the human body, dissected a very great number of bodies.

held sacrilege till the reign of Francis I, and there is a consultation extant, which the Emperor Charles V. caused the professors of Theology at Salamanca to hold, in order to inquire whether an human body might be dissected for the knowledge of its structure with a safe conscience. Vesal, a Flemish physician, who died in 1564, was the first who revived and methodised what is called anatomy.

In 1628.

Since him, anatomy has made a great progress, and been much improved. One of the discoveries, which have done most honour to the moderns, is the circulation of the blood. The motion by which the blood is carried several times a day from the heart into all the parts of the body by the arteries, and returns from those parts to the heart by the veins, is so called. HARVEY, a celebrated English doctor, is said to have been the first who discovered this circulation, which is now admitted by all physicians. There are some, however, who deny him this glory, and even pretend that Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Plato knew it before him. That may be: but they made so little use of it, that it is almost the same as if they had been ignorant of it; and as much may be said of them in respect to many other physical matters.



T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
A R T S and S C I E N C E S  
O F T H E  
A N T I E N T S, &c.

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O F T H E  
M A T H E M A T I C S.

**T**HE MATHEMATICS hold the first place amongst the sciences, because they alone are founded upon infallible demonstrations. And this undoubtedly gave them their name. For *Mathefis* in Greek signifies science.

I shall consider particularly in this place only Geometry and Astronomy, which are the principal branches of mathematical knowledge; to which I shall add some other parts, that have an essential relation to them.

I must confess, to my shame, that the subjects I am going to treat on are absolutely unknown to me, except the historical part of them. But, by the privilege I have assumed, with which the public does not seem to be offended, it is in my power to apply the riches of others to my own use. What treasures have I not found upon this occasion in the memoirs of the academy of sciences! If I could have taken all I have said upon such sublime and abstracted subjects from them, I should have no occasion to fear for myself.



## C H A P T E R I .

## O F G E O M E T R Y .

Herod. l. 2. c. 109. Strab. l. 17. p. 787. **T**HE word *Geometry* signifies, literally, *the art of measuring the earth*. The Egyptians are said to have invented it, on account of the inundations of the Nile. For, that river carrying away the land-marks every year, and lessening some estates to enlarge others, the Egyptians were obliged to measure their country often, and for that purpose to contrive a method and art, which was the origin and beginning of geometry. This reason might have induced the Egyptians to cultivate geometry with the more care and attention, but its origin is undoubtedly of a more antient date.

However that be, it passed from Egypt into Greece, and Thales of Miletus is believed to have carried it thither, at his return from his travels. Pythagoras also placed it in great honour, and admitted no disciples who had not learnt the principles of geometry.

Geometry is to be considered in two different views, either as a speculative, or a practical science.

Geometry, as a speculative science, considers the figure and extent of bodies according to three different dimensions, length, breadth, and thickness, which form three species of extent, lines, superficies, and solids, or solid bodies. Accordingly it compares the different lines with each other, and determines their equality or inequality. It shews also how much greater the one is than the other. It does the same in respect to superficies. For instance, it demonstrates that a triangle is the half of a parallelogram of the same base and height: that two circles are in proportion to each other as the squares

squares of their diameters; that is to say, that, if the one be three times as large as the other, the first will contain nine times as much space as the latter. And, lastly, it considers Solids or the quantities of bodies in the same manner. It shews, that a pyramid is the third of a prism of the same base and height: that a sphere or globe is two thirds of a cylinder circumscribed, that is to say, a cylinder of the same height and breadth: that globes are in the same proportion with each other as the cubes of their diameters. If, for example, the diameter of one globe be four times as large as that of another, the first globe is sixty-four times as much in quantity as the second. Accordingly, if they are of the same matter, the former will weigh sixty-four times as much as the other, because 64 is the cube of 4.

Practical geometry, founded upon the theory of the speculative, is solely employed in measuring the three species of extent, lines, superficies, and solids. It teaches us, for example, how to measure the distance of two objects from each other, the height of a tower, and the extent of land: how to divide a superficies into as many parts as we please, of which the one may be twice, thrice, four times, &c. as large as another. It shews us how to gage casks, and the manner of finding the contents of any other vessels used either to hold liquids or solids. It not only measures different objects upon the surface of the earth, but the globe of the earth itself, by determining the extent of its circumference, and the length of its diameter. It goes so far as to shew the distance of the moon from the earth. It even ventures to measure that of the sun, and its magnitude in respect to the terrestrial globe.

The most illustrious philosophers made this science their peculiar study: Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Architas, Eudoxus, and many others, of whom I shall only speak of the most known, and those whose works are come down to us.



Ant. J. C. EUCLID. We shall speak of him in the sequel.

300.

ARISTÆUS the elder. He seems to have been Euclid's cotemporary. He wrote five books upon *solid places*, that is to say, as Pappus explains it, upon the three Conic Sections.

Ant. J. C. APOLLONIUS PERGÆUS, so called from a city of Pamphylia. He lived in the Reign of Ptolomy Evergetes, and collected all that the most learned geometricians had written upon conic sections before him, of which he made eight books, which came down entire to the time of Pappus of Alexandria, who composed a kind of introduction to that work. The four last books of Apollonius were afterwards lost. But in 1658 the famous John Alphonso Borelli, passing through Florence, found an Arabian manuscript in the library of the Medicis, with this inscription in Latin, *Apollonii Pergæi Conicorum Libri octo*. They were translated into Latin.

ARCHIMEDES. I shall defer speaking of him a little.

PAPPUS of Alexandria flourished in the reign of Theodosius, in the 395th year of Christ. He composed a collection upon geometrical subjects in eight books, of which the two first are lost. The Abbé Gallois, when the academy of sciences assumed a new form in 1699, undertook to work upon the geometry of the antients, and particularly upon Pappus's collection, of which he was for printing the Greek text, that had never been done, and for correcting the very defective Latin version. It is a misfortune for the commonwealth of letters, that this was only intended.

Of the geometricians I have mentioned, the two most illustrious, and who have done most honour to geometry, but in a different degree of merit, were Euclid and Archimedes. Euclid is only an author of elements: but Archimedes is a sublime geometrician, whom even the most learned in the new methods admire to this day.

EUCLID.

## EUCLID.

EUCLID the mathematician was of Alexandria, where he taught in the reign of Ptolomy the son of Lagus. We must not confound him, as Valerius Maximus has done, with another Euclid of Megara, the founder of the sect of philosophers, called the Megaric sect, who lived in the time of Socrates and Plato, that is to say, above fourscore years before the mathematician. Euclid seems to have made Speculative Geometry his sole and principal study. He has left us a Work, intituled, *The elements of geometry*, in fifteen books. It is however doubted, whether the two last are his. His elements contain a series of Propositions, which are the basis and foundation of all the other parts of the mathematics. This book is considered as one of the most precious monuments come down to us from the antients, in respect to natural knowledge. He wrote also upon optics, catoptrics, music, and other learned subjects.

It hath been observed, that the famous M. Pascal, at twelve years of age, without having ever read any book of geometry, or knowing any thing more of that Science, except that it taught the method of making exact figures, and of finding their proportions to each other, proceeded, by the strength of his genius only, to the 32d proposition of the first book of Euclid.

## ARCHIMEDES.

All the world knows that Archimedes was of Syracuse, and a near relation to king Hiero. What I have said of him with sufficient extent, in speaking of the siege of Syracuse by the Romans, dispenses with my repeating his history in this place. He was, of himself and by natural inclination, solely intent upon whatever is most noble, most exalted, and most abstracted in geometry; and some of his  
works

Plut. in  
Marcel.  
p. 305.

works of this kind, of which he composed a great number, are come down to us. It was only at the request and warm instances of king Hiero, his relation, that he suffered himself at length to be persuaded to bring down his art, from soaring perpetually after intellectual and spiritual things, sometimes to things sensible and corporeal, and to render his reasonings in some sort more evident and palpable to the generality of mankind, in mingling them by experiments with things of use. We have seen what services he did his country at the siege of Syracuse, and the astonishing machines that came from his industrious hands. He however set no value upon them, and considered them as pastime and amusement, in comparison with those sublime reasonings that gratified his inclination and taste for truth in a quite different manner. The world is never more indebted to these great geometricians, than when they descend to act thus for its service: it is a sacrifice which costs them much, because it tears them from a pleasure of which they are infinitely fond, but to which they think themselves obliged, as indeed they are for the honour of geometry, to prefer the good of the public.

Diog.  
Laert. in  
Archim.  
Plut. in  
Marcel.  
P. 305.

Eudoxus and Architas were the first inventors of this kind of mechanics, and reduced them to practice, to vary and unbend geometry by this kind of amusement, and to prove by sensible and instrumental experiments some problems, which did not appear susceptible of demonstration by reasoning and practice: which are Plutarch's own words. He cites here the problem of the two means proportional for obtaining the duplication of the cube, which could never be geometrically resolved before Descartes did it. Plutarch adds, that Plato was much offended at them on this account, and reproached them with having corrupted the excellency of geometry, in making it descend, like a mean slave, from intellectual and spiritual, to sensible, things,



things, and in obliging it to employ matter, which requires the work of the hands, and is the object of a low and servile trade; and that from thenceforth those Mechanics were separated from geometry, as unworthy of it. This delicacy is singular, and would have deprived human society of a great number of aids, and geometry of the only part of it, that can recommend it to mankind; because, if it were not applied to things sensible and of use, it would serve only for the amusement of a very small number of contemplative persons.

The two celebrated geometers, whom I have distinguished from the multitude, Euclid and Archimedes, universally esteemed by the learned though in a different degree, shew how far the ancients carried their knowledge in geometry. But it must be confessed, that it soared to a quite different height, and almost entirely changed its aspect in the last age, by the new system of the Infinitely small, or Differential calculation, for which no doubt the particular application bestowed till then upon this study, and the happy discoveries made in it, had prepared the way. The advances we make in science are progressive. Every acquisition of knowledge does not reveal itself, till after the discovery of a certain number of things necessarily previous to it; and, when it comes to its turn to disclose itself, it casts a light that attracts all eyes upon it. The period was arrived, wherein geometry was to bring forth the calculation of Infinites. NEWTON was the first that made this wonderful discovery, and Leibnitz the first that published it. All the great geometers entered with ardour the paths that had been lately opened for them, in which they advanced with giant steps. In proportion as their boldness in treating Infinites increased, geometry extended her bounds. The Infinite exalted every thing to a sublimity, and at the same time led on to a facility in every thing, of which no-body had ventured so much as to conceive  
any

any hopes before. And this is the Period of an almost total revolution in geometry.

I have said that Newton first discovered this wonderful calculation, and that Leibnitz published it first. The latter, in 1684, actually inserted the rules of the differential calculation in the acts of Leipsic, but concealed the demonstrations of them. The illustrious brothers, the Bernoulli's, discovered them though very difficult, and used this calculation with surprising success. The most exalted, the boldest, and most unexpected solutions rose up under their hands. In 1687 appeared Newton's admirable work, upon *the mathematical principles of natural philosophy*, which was almost entirely founded upon this calculation; and he had the modesty not to exclaim against the Rules of Mr. Leibnitz. It was generally believed that each of them had discovered this new system, through the conformity of their great talents and learning. A dispute arose on this occasion, which was carried on by their adherents on both sides with sufficient warmth. Newton cannot be denied the glory of having been the inventor of this new system; but Mr. Leibnitz ought not to be branded with the infamous name of a plagiary, nor to have the shame of a theft laid upon him, which he denied with a boldness and impudence very remote from the character of so great a man.

In the first years the geometry of the Infinitely small was only a kind of mystery. Solutions frequently came out in the Journals, of which the method that produced them was not suffered to appear; and, even when it was discovered, only some feeble rays of that science escaped, which were soon lost again in clouds and darkness. The public, or more properly, the small number of those who aspired at elevated geometry, were struck with an useless admiration, that made them never the wiser; and means were found to acquire their applause, without

out imparting the instruction, with which it ought to have been deserved. Mr. l'Hopital, that sublime genius, who has done geometry and France so much honour, resolved to communicate the hidden treasures of the new geometry without reserve, and he did so in the famous book called *the Analysis of the Infinitely small*, which he published in 1696. He there unveiled all the secrets of the geometrical infinite, and of the infinite of infinite; in a word, all the different orders of infinites, which rise upon one another, and form the boldest and most amazing superstructure that human wit has ever ventured to imagine. It is in this manner Sciences attain their perfection.

As, in speaking of geometry, I travel in a country entirely unknown to me, I have scarce done any thing, besides copying and abridging what I found upon the subject in the memoirs of the academy of sciences. But I thought it incumbent on me to add the advantageous testimony, which Mr. l'Hopital, of whom I have just spoken, gives in a few lines of Mr. Leibnitz, on account of the invention of the calculation of infinites, in his preface to the *Analysis of the Infinitely small*. “ His calculation, “ says he, has carried him into regions hitherto unknown, where he has made discoveries that “ astonish the most profound Mathematicians of “ Europe.”

I add here another passage from the preface, but longer, that seems to me a model of the wise and moderate manner, with which one ought to think and speak of the great men of Antiquity, even when we prefer the Moderns to them.

“ What the Antients have left us upon these “ subjects, and especially Archimedes, is certainly “ worthy of admiration. But, besides their having “ touched very little upon Curves, and that too “ very superficially, almost all they have done upon “ that head are particular and detached proposi-  
“ tions



“ tions that do not imply any regular and coherent  
 “ method. They cannot however be justly re-  
 “ proached on that account. It required exceeding  
 “ force of genius to penetrate through so many ob-  
 “ scurities, and to enter first into regions so entirely  
 “ unknown. If they were not far from them, if  
 “ they went by round-about ways, at least they did  
 “ not go astray ; and the more difficult and thorny  
 “ the paths they followed were, the more they are  
 “ to be admired for not losing themselves in them.  
 “ In a word, it does not seem possible for the An-  
 “ tients to have done more in their time. They  
 “ have done what our best Moderns would have  
 “ done in their places ; and, if they were in ours, it  
 “ is to be believed they would have had the same  
 “ views with us. —

“ It is therefore no wonder that the antients went  
 “ no farther. But one cannot be sufficiently sur-  
 “ prised, that great men, and no doubt as great  
 “ men as the antients, should continue there so  
 “ long ; and, through an almost superstitious admi-  
 “ ration for their works, content themselves with  
 “ reading and commenting upon them, without  
 “ allowing themselves any farther use of their own  
 “ talents than what sufficed for following them,  
 “ and without daring to venture the crime of think-  
 “ ing sometimes for themselves, and of extending  
 “ their views beyond what the antients had disco-  
 “ vered. In this manner many studied, wrote,  
 “ and multiplied books, whilst no advancements  
 “ at all were made. All the labours of many ages  
 “ had no other tendency than to fill the world with  
 “ obsequious comments, and repeated translations  
 “ of originals, often contemptible enough. Such  
 “ was the state of the mathematics, and especially  
 “ of philosophy, till Monsieur Descartes.”

I return now to my subject. We are sometimes  
 tempted to think the time very indifferently em-  
 ployed, that persons of wit bestow upon abstracted  
 studies,

studies, which seem of no immediate utility, and only proper to satisfy a vain curiosity. To think in this manner is contrary to reason; because we make ourselves judges of what we neither know, nor are qualified to know.

It is indeed true, that all the speculations of pure geometry or algebra are not immediately applied to useful things, but they either lead or relate to those that do. Besides which, a geometrical speculation, which has at first no useful object, comes in time to be applicable to use. When the greatest geometicians of the seventeenth century studied a new Curve, which they called the *Cycloid*, it was only a mere speculation, in which they solely engaged through the vanity of discovering difficult theorems, in emulation of each other. They did not so much as pretend, that they were labouring for the good of the public. The *Cycloid* however was found, upon a strict inquiry into its nature, to be destined to give pendulums all possible perfection, and the measure of time its utmost exactness.

Besides the aids which every branch of the mathematics derives from geometry, the study of this science is of infinite advantage in the uses of life. It is always good to think and reason right; and it has been justly said, that there is no better practical logic than geometry. Though Numbers and Lines absolutely tended to nothing, they would always be the only certain knowledge, of which we are capable by the light of nature, and would serve as the surest means to give our reason the first habitude and bent of truth. They would teach us to operate upon truths, to trace the chain of them subtle and almost imperceptible as it frequently is, and to follow them to the utmost extent of which they are capable: in fine, they would render the True so familiar to us, that we should be able, on many occasions, to know it at first glance, and almost by instinct.

The

The geometrical spirit is not so much confined to geometry, that it cannot be taken off from it, and transferred to other branches of knowledge. Works of moral philosophy, politics, criticism, and even eloquence, *cæteris paribus*, would have additional beauties, if composed by geometers. The order, perspicuity, distinction, and exactness, which have prevailed in good books for some time past, may very probably have derived themselves from this geometrical spirit, which spreads more than ever, and in some sort communicates itself from author to author, even to those who know nothing of geometry. A great man is sometimes followed by the whole age he lives in; and the person, to whom the glory of having established a new Art of reasoning may justly be ascribed, was an excellent geometer.

Descartes.

## OF ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA.

**A**RITHMETIC is a part of the mathematics. It is a science which teaches all the various operations of numbers, and demonstrates their properties. It is necessary in many operations of geometry, and therefore ought to precede it. The Greeks are said to have received it from the Phœnicians.

The ancients, who have treated arithmetic with most exactness, are Euclid, Nicomachus, Diophantus of Alexandria, and Theon of Smyrna.

It was difficult for either the Greeks or the Romans to succeed much in arithmetic, as both used only the letters of the alphabet for numbers, the multiplication of which, in great calculations, necessarily occasioned abundance of trouble. The Arabic cyphers now used, which have not above four hundred years of antiquity, are infinitely more commodious, and contributed very much to the improvement of arithmetic.

ALGEBRA



ALGEBRA is a part of the mathematics, which upon quantity in general expressed by the letters of the alphabet does all the operations done by arithmetic upon number. The characters it uses, signifying nothing of themselves, may intend any species of quantity, which is one of the principal advantages of this science. Besides these characters, it uses certain signs that infinitely abridge its operations, and render them abundantly clearer. By the help of algebra most of the problems of the mathematics may be resolved, provided they are capable of solution. It was not entirely unknown to the Antients. Plato is believed the inventor of it. Theon, in his treatise upon arithmetic, gives it the name of *analysis*.

All great mathematicians are well versed in algebra, or at least sufficiently for indispensable use. But this knowledge, when carried beyond this ordinary use, is so perplexed, so thick sown with difficulties, so clogged with immense calculations, and, in a word, so hideous, that few people have heroic courage enough to plunge into such dark and profound abysses. Certain shining theories, in which refinement of wit seems to have more share than severity of labour, are much more alluring. However, the more sublime geometry is become inseparable from algebra. Mr Rolle, amongst the French, has carried this knowledge as high as possible, for which he had a natural inclination and a kind of instinct, that made him devour all the asperity, and, I had almost said, horror of this study, not only with patience but delight.

I shall not enter into a circumstantial account of arithmetic and algebra, which far exceeds my capacity, and would neither be useful nor agreeable to the reader.

It has been, for some years, an established custom, in the university of Paris, to explain the elements of these sciences in the classes of philosophy, by way

of introduction to the physics. This last part of philosophy, in its present state, is almost a system of enigmas to those who have not at least some tincture of the principles of the mathematics. Accordingly the most learned professors have conceived it necessary to begin with them, in order to make any progress in the physics. Besides the advantages which result from the mathematics, in respect to the physics, those who teach them, in their Classes, find that the youth, who apply themselves to them, acquire an exactness of mind, a close way of thinking, which they retain in all the other sciences. Those two considerations suffice to shew our obligation to the professors who first introduced this custom, which is now become almost general in the university.

Mr. Rivard, professor of philosophy in the college of Beauvais, has composed a treatise upon this subject, which contains the elements of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, wherein every thing is said to be explained with sufficient extent, and all possible exactness and perspicuity. A second edition of this work has been lately published with considerable additions.

## OF THE MECHANICS.

**T**HE Mechanics are a science, that teaches the nature of the moving Powers, the art of designing all kinds of machines, and of removing any weight by the means of levers, wedges, pullies, wheels, &c. Many, who consider the mechanics only on the side of Practice, set little value upon them, because they seem to belong solely to workmen, and to require the hands only, and not the understanding: but a different judgment is passed upon them, when considered on the side of their Theory, which is capable of employing the most exalted genius. It is besides the science that guides the hands of the workman, and by which he brings his inventions to perfection. A slight idea, dropt  
even

even by the ignorant, and the effect of chance, is afterwards often pursued by degrees to supreme perfection, by persons profoundly skilled in geometry and mechanics. This happened in respect to telescopes, which owe their birth to the son of an Hollander that made spectacles. Holding a convex glass in one hand, and a concave one in the other, and looking through them without design, he perceived that distant objects appeared much larger, and more distinct, than when he saw them only with his eyes. Galileo, Kepler, and Descartes, by the rules of the dioptrics, carried this invention, gross as it was in its beginning, a great way, which has since been much more improved.

The most celebrated authors of antiquity, who have written upon the mechanics, are Architas of Tarentum; Aristotle; Æneas his cotemporary, whose Tactics are still extant, in which he treats of machines of war, a work which Cineas, the friend of Pyrrhus, abridged; Archimedes particularly, of whom we have spoken before; Athenæus, who dedicated his book upon machines to Marcellus, that took Syracuse; and lastly Heron of Alexandria, of whom we have several treatises.

Of all the works upon the mechanics come down to us from the antients, only those of Archimedes treat this science in all its extent, but often with great obscurity. The siege of Syracuse shews, how high his abilities in mechanics rose. It is no wonder, that the moderns, after the many Physical Discoveries made in the last Century, have carried that science much farther than the antients. The Machines of Archimedes however still amaze the most profound in the Mechanics of our times.

If all the advantages of the mechanics were to be particularly shewn, it would be necessary to describe all the machines used heretofore on different times and occasions, both in war and peace, as well as those now used either for necessity or diversion.



## OF STATICS.

It is upon the principles of this science that the construction of wind and water mills for different uses is founded; of most of the machines used in war, both in the attack and defence of places; of those which are employed in great numbers for the raising of heavy weights in building, and of water by pumps, wheels, and all the various engines for that use; in a word, we are indebted to the mechanics for an infinity of very useful and curious works.

## OF THE STATICS.

**T**HE Statics are a science, that makes part of the mixed mathematics. It considers solid bodies in respect to their weight, and lays down rules for moving them, and for placing them *in equilibrio*.

The great principle of this science is, that, when the masses of two unequal bodies are in reciprocal proportion to their velocities, that is to say, when the quantity or mass of the one contains that of the other, as much as the swiftness of the second contains that of the first, their quantities of motion, or powers, are equal. From this principle it follows, that with a very small body a much greater may be moved: or, which is the same thing, that with a certain given power any weight whatsoever may be moved. In order to this, the velocity of the moving power is only to be augmented, in proportion to the weight of the body to be moved.

This appears evidently in the Lever, on which almost all mechanical machines depend. The point, on which it is supported, is called the point fixed, or point of support. The extent, from that point to one of the extremities, is called the distance from the point of support, or *radius*. The bodies at the two extremities of the lever, are called weights. If one of these weights be only half the other, and its distance twice as far from the point fixed, the

two weights will be *in æquilibrio*, because then the velocity of the least will contain that of the greatest, in the same manner as the mass of the greatest will contain that of the least; for their velocities are in the same proportion to each other, as their distances from the point of support. According to this hypothesis, by augmenting the distance of the weight which is but half the other, the lighter will raise up the heavier.

It was upon this principle Archimedes told king Hiero, that, if he had a place off the earth, where he could fix himself and his instruments, he could move it as he thought fit at will. To prove what he said, and to shew that prince, that the greatest weight might be moved with small force, he made the experiment before him upon one of the largest of his galleys, which had double the lading it used to carry put on board it, and which he made move forward upon the land without difficulty, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine he had prepared for that purpose.

The HYDROSTATICS considers the effects of weight in liquids, whether in liquids alone, or in liquids acting upon solids, or reciprocally. It was by the Hydrostatics, that Archimedes discovered what a goldsmith had stolen from king Hiero's crown, in which he had mingled other metal with gold. His joy was so great for having found this secret, that he leaped out of the bath without considering he was naked, and, solely intent upon his discovery, went home in that condition, to make the experiment, crying out through the streets, *I have found it, I have found it.*

Plut. in  
Moral.  
p. 1094.



## CHAPTER II.

## OF ASTRONOMY.

*Memoires  
de l'Acad-  
em. des  
Sciences,  
Vol. VIII.*

**M**R. Cassini has left us an excellent treatise upon the origin and progress of astronomy, which I shall only abridge in this place.

It is not to be doubted but astronomy was invented from the beginning of the world. As there is nothing more surprising than the regularity of those great luminous bodies that turn incessantly round the earth, it is easy to judge that one of the first curiosities of mankind was to consider their courses, and to observe the periods of them. But it was not curiosity only that induced men to apply themselves to astronomical speculations: necessity itself may be said to have obliged them to it. For, if the seasons are not observed, which are distinguished by the motion of the sun, it is impossible to succeed in agriculture. If the times proper for making voyages were not previously known, commerce could not be carried on. If the duration of the month and year were not determined, a certain order could not be established in civil affairs, nor the days allotted to the exercise of religion be fixed. Thus, as neither agriculture, commerce, polity, nor religion could dispense with the want of astronomy, it is evident that mankind were obliged to apply themselves to that science, from the beginning of the world.

*Ptolom.  
Almagest.  
l. 4. c. 2.*

What Ptolomy relates of the observations of the heavens, by which Hipparchus reformed astronomy almost two thousand years ago, proves sufficiently, that, in the most antient times, and even before the flood, this science was much studied. And



it is no wonder, that the remembrance of the astronomical observations, made during the first ages of of the world, should be preserved even after the flood, if what Josephus relates be true, that the descendants of Seth, to preserve the remembrance of the celestial observations which they had made, engraved the principal of them upon two pillars, the one of brick, and the other of stone; that the pillar of brick withstood the waters of the deluge, and that, even in his time, there were remains of it to be seen in Syria. Joseph. Antiq. l. 1.

It is agreed that astronomy was cultivated in a particular manner by the Chaldæans. The height of the tower of Babel, which the vanity of men erected about an hundred and fifty years after the flood, the \* level and extensive plains of that country, the nights in which they breathed the fresh air after the troublesome heats of the day, an unbroken horizon, a pure and serene sky, all conspired to engage that people to contemplate the vast extent of the heavens, and the motions of the stars. From Chaldæa astronomy passed into Egypt, and soon after was carried into Phœnicia, when they began to apply its speculative observations to the uses of navigation, by which the Phœnicians soon became masters of the sea and of commerce.

What made them bold, in undertaking long voyages, was their custom of steering their ships by the observation of one of the stars of the Little Bear, which, being near the immoveable point of the heavens, called the Pole, is the most proper to serve as a guide in navigation. Other nations, less skilful in astronomy, observed only the Great Bear in their voyages. But, as that constellation is too far from the pole to be capable of serving as a cer- Arat.

\* Principio Assyrii, propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cum cœlum ex omni parte patens atque apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt—Qua in natione Chaldæi—diuturna observatione siderum scientiam putantur effecisse, &c. *Cic. de Divin. l. 1. n. 2.*

tain guide in long voyages, they did not dare to stand out so far to sea, as to lose sight of the coasts; and, if a storm happened to drive them into the main ocean, or upon some unknown shore, it was impossible for them to know by the heavens into what part of the world the tempest had carried them.

Diog.

Laert. l. 1.

Thales, having at length brought the science of the stars from Phœnicia into Greece, taught the Greeks to know the constellation of the Little Bear, and to make use of it as their guide in navigation. He also taught them the theory of the motion of the sun and moon, by which he accounted for the length and shortness of the days; determined the number of the days of the Solar year, and not only explained the cause of Eclipses, but shewed the art of foretelling them, which he even reduced to practice, foretelling an eclipse which happened soon after. The merit of a knowledge so uncommon in those days made him pass for the oracle of his times, and occasioned his being given the first place amongst the seven Sages of Greece.

Plin. l. 7.  
c. 56.

Anaximander was his disciple, to whom Pliny and Diogenes Laertius ascribe the invention of the sphere, that is to say, the representation of the ter-

Strab. l. 1.

P. 7.

Diog.

Laert. l. 2.

restrial globe; or, according to Strabo, geographical maps. Anaximander is said also to have erected a gnomon at Sparta, by the means of which he observed the equinoxes and solstices; and to have determined the obliquity of the ecliptic more exactly than had ever been done before; which was necessary for dividing the terrestrial globe into five Zones, and for distinguishing the Climates, that were afterwards used by geographers for shewing the situation of all the places of the earth.

Upon the instructions which the Greeks had received from Thales and Anaximander, they ventured into the main sea, and, sailing to various remote countries, planted many colonies in them.

Astronomy

Astronomy was soon made amends for the advantages she had procured navigation. For, commerce having opened the rest of the world to the learned of Greece, they acquired great lights from their conferences with the priests of Egypt, who made the science of the stars their peculiar profession. They learnt also many things from the philosophers of the sect of Pythagoras in Italy, who had made so great a progress in this Science, that they ventured to reject the received opinions of all the world concerning the order of nature and ascribed perpetual rest to the sun, and motion to the earth.

Arist. de  
Coel. l. 2.  
c. 13.

Meton distinguished himself very much at Athens by his particular application to astronomy, and by the great success with which his pains were rewarded. He lived in the time of the Peloponnesian war; and, when the Athenians were fitting out a fleet against Sicily, foreseeing that expedition would be attended with fatal consequences, he counterfeited the madman, to avoid having a share in it, and setting out with the other citizens. It was he that invented what is called *The Golden Number*, in order to make the Lunar and Solar years agree. That Number is a revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns to the same place and days, and renews its course with the sun, at the difference of about an hour and some minutes.

Plut. in  
Alcib. p.  
199.  
In Nic.  
p. 532.

Diod. Si-  
cul. l. 12.  
p. 94.

The Greeks improved also from their commerce with the Druids, \* who amongst many other things, says Julius Cæsar, which they taught their youth, instructed them particularly in the motion of the stars, and the magnitude of the heavens and the earth, that is to say, in astronomy and geography.

This kind of learning is more antient in the Gauls, than is generally imagined. Strabo has pre- served a famous observation, made by Pytheas at

Strab. l. 2.  
p. 115.

\* Multa præterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura—disputant, & juventuti transdant. Cæs. de Bell. Gall. l. 6.



Marseilles above two thousand years ago, concerning the proportion of the shadow of the sun to the length of a gnomon at the time of the solstice. If the circumstances of this observation were exactly known, it would serve to resolve an important question, which is, whether the obliquity of the ecliptic be subject to any change.

Strab. l. 2. Pytheas was not contented with making observations in his own country. His passion for astronomy and geography made him run over all Europe, from the pillars of Hercules to the mouths of the Tanais. He went by the western ocean very far towards the Arctic pole, and observed that, in proportion as he advanced, the days grew longer at the summer solstice, so that in a certain climate there was but three hours night, and farther only two, till at last in the island of Thule the sun rose almost as soon as it set, the tropic continuing entirely above the horizon of that isle; which happens in Iceland, and the northern parts of Norway, as modern accounts inform us. Strabo, who imagined that those climates were uninhabitable, accuses Pytheas of falshood, and blames the credulity of Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, who, upon Pytheas's authority, said the same thing of the island of Thule. But, the accounts of modern travellers having fully justified Pytheas, we may give him the glory of being the first that advanced towards the pole to countries before believed uninhabitable, and who distinguished Climates by the different length of days and nights.

About Pytheas's time, the Learned of Greece having conceived a taste for astronomy, many great men of them applied themselves to it in emulation of each other. Eudoxus, after having been some time the disciple of Plato, was not satisfied with what was taught upon that subject in the schools of Athens. He therefore went to Egypt to cultivate that science at its source, and, having obtained a  
letter

letter of recommendation from Agesilaus king of Sparta to Nectanebus king of Egypt, he remained sixteen months with the astronomers of that country, in order to improve himself by consulting them. At his return he composed several books upon astronomy, and amongst others the description of the constellations, which Aratus turned into verse some time after by the order of Antigonus.

Aristotle, the cotemporary of Eudoxus, and also Plato's disciple, made use of astronomy for improving the physics and geography. By the observations of the astronomers, he determined the figure and magnitude of the earth. He demonstrated that it was spherical by the roundness of its shadow, which appeared upon the disk of the moon in eclipses, and by the inequality of the meridian altitudes which are different according to their distance from, or approach to, the poles. Callisthenes, who was in the train of Alexander the Great, having had occasion to go to Babylon, found astronomical observations there, which the Babylonians had made, during the space of nineteen hundred and three years, and sent them to Aristotle.

Arist. de  
Coel. l. 2.  
c. 14.

After Alexander's death, the princes, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Egypt took so much care to attract the most famous astronomers to their courts by their liberality, that Alexandria, the capital of their kingdom, soon became, to use the expression, the seat of astronomy. The famous Conon made abundance of observations there, but they are not come down to us. Aristyllus and Timochares observed the declination of the fixed stars there, the knowledge of which is absolutely necessary to geography and navigation. Eratosthenes made observations upon the sun in the same city, which served him for measuring the circumference of the earth.

Ptol. Al-  
mag. l. 7.

Hipparchus, who resided also at Alexandria, was the first who laid the foundation for a methodical astronomy, when, upon the appearance of a new fixed

Cleomed.  
l. 1.  
A. D. 147.

Ptol. Al-  
mag. 1. 3—  
7.

fixed star, he took the number of the fixed stars, in order that future ages might know, whether any more new ones appeared. The fixed stars amounted then to a thousand and twenty-two. He not only described their motion round the poles of the ecliptic, but applied himself also to regulate the theory of the motions of the sun and moon.

The Romans, who aspired to the empire of the world, took care at different times to cause descriptions of the principal parts of the earth to be made, a work which implied some knowledge of the stars. Scipio Africanus the younger, during the war with Carthage, gave Polybius ships, in order to view the coasts of Africa, Spain, and the Gauls.

Plin. 1. 7.  
c. 30.

Pompey corresponded with the learned astronomer and excellent geographer, Posidonius, who undertook to measure the circumference of the earth by celestial observations, made at different places under the same meridian, in order to reduce into degrees the distances, which the Romans till then had measured only by *stadia* (or furlongs) and miles.

Cleomed.  
1. 1.

In order to settle the difference of Climates, the difference of the length of shadows was observed, principally at the time of the solstices and equinoxes.

Plin. 1. 2.  
c. 72, 73.  
74.  
Vitruv.  
1. 9. c. 4.

Gnomons and Obelisks had been set up for this purpose in several parts of the world, as Pliny and Vitruvius inform us, who have transmitted many of those observations down to posterity. The greatest obelisks were those of Egypt. Julius and Augustus Cæsar caused some of them to be brought from thence to Rome, as well to serve for ornaments of the city, as to give the exact measures of the proportion of shadows. Augustus caused one of the greatest of these obelisks to be placed in the field of Mars, which was an hundred and eleven feet high, without the pedestal. He caused foundations to be made to it as deep as the obelisk was high; and, when the obelisk was placed upon them, he ordered a meridian line to be drawn at bottom, of which

Plin. 1. 36.  
c. 10.

the



the divisions were made with plates of brass fixed in stone, to shew the lengthening or shortening of the shadows every day at noon, according to the difference of the seasons. And, to shew this difference with greater exactness, he caused a ball to be placed upon the point of that obelisk, which is still in the field of Mars at Rome, lying in the ground across the cellars of houses built upon its ruins. By comparing the shadows of this obelisk with those observed in several other parts of the world, the knowledge of the Latitudes so necessary to the perfection of geography, was attained.

Augustus in the mean time caused particular descriptions of different countries to be made, and principally that of Italy, where the distances were marked by miles along the coasts, and upon the great roads. And at length, in that prince's reign, the general description of the world, at which the Romans had laboured for the space of two ages, was finished from the memoirs of Agrippa, and set up in the midst of Rome, in a great portico built for that purpose. Plin. l. 3. c. 3. Ibid. c. 2.

The Itinerary, ascribed to the emperor Antoninus, may be taken for an abridgment of this great work. For this Itinerary is in effect only a collection of the distances which had been measured throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire.

In the reign of that wise Emperor, Astronomy began to assume a new face. For Ptolomy, who may be called the restorer of this science, improving from the lights of his predecessors in it, and adding the observations of Hipparchus, Timocharis, and the Babylonians to his own, composed a complete body of astronomy in an excellent book, intitled, *The great Composition*, which contains the theory and tables of the motion of the sun, moon, and other planets, and of the fixed stars. Geography is no less indebted to him than astronomy, as we shall see in the sequel.

As great works are never perfect in their beginnings, we must not be surpris'd, that there are abundance of things to amend in Ptolomy's geography. Many ages elapsed without any body's undertaking it. But the Arabian princes, who conquered the countries where astronomy and geography were particularly cultivated and profess'd, had no sooner declared it their intention to make the utmost improvements in those sciences, than persons capable of contributing to the execution of their design were immediately found. Almamon, Caliph of Babylon, having at that time caused Ptolomy's book, intitled *The great Composition*, which the Arabians called *Almagest*, to be translated out of Greek into Arabic, many observations were made by his orders; in effect of which the declination of the sun was discovered to be less by one third of a degree than laid down by Ptolomy; and that the motion of the fixed stars was not so slow as he believed it. By the order of the same prince, a great extent of country under the same Meridian was measured, in order to determine the extent of a degree of the earth's circumference.

Thus astronomy and geography were gradually improved. But the art of navigation made a much more considerable progress in a short time by the help of the Compass, of which I shall speak in the sequel.

Almost at the same time that the compass began to be used, the example of the Caliphs excited the princes of Europe to promote the improvement of astronomy. The Emperor Frederic II, not being able to suffer that the Christians should have less knowledge of this science than the Barbarians, caused the *Almagest* of Ptolomy to be translated into Latin from the Arabic, from which version Johannes de Sacrobosco, professor in the university of Paris, extracted his work concerning the sphere, upon which the most learned mathematicians of Europe have written commentaries.

In Spain, Alphonso king of Castile was at a truly Royal expence for assembling learned astronomers from all parts. By his orders they applied themselves to the reformation of Astronomy, and composed new Tables, which from his name were called the Alphonfine Tables. They did not succeed the first time in the hypothesis of the motion of the fixed stars, which they supposed too slow; but Alphonso afterwards corrected their Tables, which have since been augmented, and reduced into a more commodious form by different astronomers.

Calvis. ad  
an. 1252.

This work awakened the curiosity of the Learned of Europe, who immediately invented several kinds of instruments for facilitating the Observations of the stars. They calculated Ephemerises, and made tables for finding the declination of the planets at all times, which, with the observation of the Meridian Altitudes, shews the Latitudes at land sea. They laboured also to facilitate the calculation of Eclipses, by observation of which longitudes are found.

The fruit of these astronomical labours was the discovery of many countries unknown before. I shall speak of them elsewhere.

France has also produced many illustrious men, who excelled in astronomy, because it has had great princes, from time to time, who have taken care to excite their subjects by rewards to apply to it. Charles V, surnamed the Wise, caused abundance of mathematical books to be translated into French. He founded two professorships of mathematics in the college of M. Gervais at Paris, to facilitate the study of those sciences to his subjects. They flourished principally in the following century through Francis I's institution of two professorships in the college royal, for teaching the mathematics in the Capital city of his kingdom. This school produced a considerable number of learned men, who enriched the public with many astronomical and mathematical



cal works, and formed illustrious disciples, whose reputation almost obscured that of their masters.

Germany and the northern nations also produced many excellent astronomers, amongst whom Copernicus distinguished himself in a particular manner. But the famous Tycho Brahe much exceeded all the astronomers that had preceeded him. Besides the Theory and the Tables of the sun and moon, and abundance of fine Observations which he made, he composed a new Catalogue of the fixed stars with so much exactness, that the author might from that work alone deserve the name, which some have given him, of Restorer of astronomy.

Whilst Tycho Brahe was making observations in Denmark, several famous astronomers, who assembled at Rome under the authority of pope Gregory XIII, laboured with abundance of success in correcting the errors which had insensibly crept into the antient Calendar, through the precession of the equinoxes, and the anticipation of the new moons. These errors would in process of time have entirely subverted the order established by the councils for the celebration of the Moveable feasts, if the Calendar had not been reformed according to the modern Observations of the motions of the sun and moon compared with the antient.

In the last and present ages, an infinity of new discoveries have been made, which have rendered astronomy incomparably more perfect than it was at its first beginning to be taught in Europe. The celebrated Galileo, by the good use he made of the invention of telescopes, was the first who discovered things in the heavens which had long passed for incredible. Descartes may be ranked amongst the improvers of astronomy; for the book he composed, upon the principles of philosophy, shews, that he had taken no less pains to know the motions of the stars, than the other parts of the physics; but

but he confined himself more to reasoning upon, than observing, them. Gassendi applied himself more to practical astronomy, and published abundance of very important observations.

The establishment of the Royal Academy of Sciences may justly be considered as the means that has contributed most to the credit and improvement of astronomy in France, by the incredible emulation, which the desire of supporting their reputation, and distinguishing themselves, excites in a body of learned men. Lewis XIV. having caused the Observatory to be built, of which the design, magnificence, and solidity are equally admirable, the academy, to answer his majesty's intention in erecting that superb edifice, applied themselves with incredible industry to whatever might contribute to the improvement of astronomy. I shall not particularise in this place the important discoveries that have been the fruits of this Institution, the learned works of this Society, nor the great men which have done, and still continue to do it so much honour. Their names and abilities are known to all Europe, which does their merit all the justice it deserves.

The reader no doubt has observed, from all that has been said of astronomy, the essential relation of that science to Geography and Navigation: and this is the proper place to speak of them. M. Danville, Geographer Royal, with whom I am particularly intimate, has been pleased to impart memoirs of geography to me, of which I have made great use.

## ARTICLE I.

## OF GEOGRAPHY.

## SECT. I.

*Of the most distinguished Geographers of antiquity.*

Strab. l. 1.  
p. 2.

CONQUESTS and commerce have aggrandised geography, and still contribute to its perfection. Homer, in his poems upon the Trojan war, and the voyages of Ulysses, has mentioned a great number of nations and countries, with particular circumstances relating to abundance of places. There appears so much knowledge of this kind in that great Poet, that Strabo considered him in some sort as the first and most antient of Geographers.

Laert. l. 2.

It is certain that geography has been cultivated from the earliest times; and, besides the geographical authors come down to us, we find many others cited by them, whose works time has not spared. The art of representing the earth, or some particular region of it, upon geographical tables and maps, is even very antient. Anaximander, the disciple of Thales, who lived above five hundred years before Christ, had composed works of this kind, as we have observed above.

Plin. l. 6.  
c. 17.  
Strab. l. 11.  
p. 514.  
Arrian lib.  
1er. Indic.

Alexander's expedition, who extended his conquests as far as the frontiers of Scythia, and into India, opened to the Greeks a positive knowledge of many countries very remote from their own. That conqueror had two engineers, Diognetus and Bæton, in his service, who were ordered to measure his marches. Pliny and Strabo have preserved those measures; and Arrian has transmitted down to us the particulars of the navigation of Nearchus and Onesicritus, who sailed back with Alexander's



ander's fleet from the mouths of the Indus into those of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The Greeks, having reduced Tyre and Sidon, had it in their power to inform themselves particularly of all the places to which the Phœnicians traded by sea, and their commerce extended as far as the Atlantic ocean.

Alexander's successors in the East extended their dominions and knowledge still farther than him, and even to the mouths of the Ganges.

Ptolomy Evergetes carried his into Abyssinia, as the inscription of the throne of Adulis, according to Cosmas the hermit, proves. Thevenot's Travels, Vol. I.

About the same time Eratosthenes, the Librarian of Alexandria, endeavoured to measure the earth, by comparing the distance between Alexandria and Syene, a town situated under the tropic of Cancer, with the difference of Latitude of those places, which he concluded from the Meridian shadow of a gnomon erected at Alexandria at the summer-solstice.

The Romans having made themselves masters of the world, and united the East and West under the same power, it is not to be doubted, but geography must have derived great advantages from it. It is easy to perceive, that most of the completest geographical works were compiled during the Roman emperors. The great roads of the empire, measured in all their extent, might have contributed much to the improvement of geography: and the Roman Itineraries, though often altered and incorrect, are still of great service in composing some maps, and in the inquiries necessary to the knowledge of the antient geography. *Antoninus's Itinerary*, as it is commonly called, because supposed to have been compiled in his reign, is also ascribed by the Learned to the cosmographer Æthicus. We have also a kind of *Table* or oblong *Map*, which is called the *Theodosian Table*,

from its being conjectured to have been composed about the time of Theodosius. The name of *Peutinger* is also given this table, which is that of a considerable citizen of Aufburg in Germany, in whose library it was found, and from whence it was sent to the famous Ortelius, the greatest geographer of his time.

Though geography be but a very short part of Pliny's natural history, he however often gives us a detail of considerable extent. He usually follows the plan laid down for him by Pomponius Mela, a less circumstantial, but elegant, author.

Strabo and Ptolomy held the first rank amongst the antient geographers, and dispute it with each other. Geography has more extent, and takes in a greater part of the Earth in Ptolomy; whilst it seems equally circumstantial every-where: but it is that extent itself that renders it the more suspected, it not being easy for it to be every-where exact and correct. Strabo relates a great part of what he writes upon the evidence of his own eyes, having made abundance of voyages for the greater certainty of his accounts; and is very succinct upon what he knows only from the reports of others. His geography is adorned with an infinity of historical facts and discussions. He affects every-where to remark, in respect to each place and country, the great men they have produced, and that do them honour. Strabo is a philosopher as well as a geographer; and good sense, solidity of judgment, and accuracy, display themselves throughout his whole work.

Ptolomy having disposed his geography in general by longitudes and latitudes, the only method of attaining any certainty in it, Agathodamon, his countryman, and of Alexandria as well as himself, reduced the whole into geographical charts or maps.

The

The authors, of whom I have now spoken, are in a manner the principal sources from which the knowledge of the antient geography is to be acquired. And, if the particular description of the principal countries of Greece by Pausanias be added to it, with some less works, that principally consist of brief descriptions of sea-coasts, amongst others those of the Euxine and Erythrean seas by Arrian, and the account of cities compiled from the Greek authors by Stephanus Byzantinus, we have almost all that remains of the geographical works of antiquity.

It is not to be imagined, that the antients whom I have cited had no thoughts of using the helps astronomy was capable of affording geography. They observed the difference of the latitudes of places by the length of Meridian shadows at the summer-solstice. They determined also that difference from the observation of the length of the longest days in each place. It was well known by the antients, that, by comparing the time of the observation of an eclipse of the moon in places situated under different meridians, the difference of the longitudes of those places might be known.

But, if the antients understood the theory of these different observations, it must be allowed that the means they employed in it were not capable of leading them to a certain degree of exactness, to which the moderns only attained by the help of great telescopes and the perfection of clocks. We cannot help perceiving the want of exactness in the observations of the antients, when we consider, that Ptolomy, all-great Cosmographer as he was, and though an Alexandrian, was mistaken about the fifth of a degree in the latitude of the city of Alexandria; which was observed in the last century by the order of the king of France, and the application of the Royal Academy of sciences.



But though there is reason to conclude, that the art of making geographical maps was very far from being carried amongst the antients to that degree of perfection as it is in our days; and we may believe, that, even in the time of the Romans, the use of those maps was not so common as it is at present; an antient monument of our Gaul itself informs us, that young persons were taught geography by the inspection of maps. That monument is an oratorical discourse spoken at Autun in the reign of Constantius, wherein the rhetorician Eumenes expressly tells us, that in the porch of the public school of that city young students had recourse to a representation of the disposition of all the lands and seas of the earth, in which the courses of the rivers and the windings of coasts were particularly described: *Videat in illis porticibus Juventus & quotidie spectet omnes terras, & cuncta maria, & quicquid invictissimi Principes, urbium, gentium, nationum aut pietate restituunt, aut virtute devincunt aut terrore. Si quidem illic, ut ipse vidisti, credo instruendæ pueritiæ causa, quo manifestius oculis discerentur quæ difficilius percipiuntur auditu, omnium, cum nominibus suis, locorum situs, spatia, intervalla descripta sunt, quicquid ubique fluminum oritur & conditur, quacumque se littorum sinus flectunt, quo vel ambitu cingit Orbem, vel impetu irrumpit Oceanus.*

Inter. Vet.  
Panegy.

## S E C T. II.

*Lands known to the Antients.*

**T**O know what part of the surface of the earth was known to the antients is of some use.

On the side of the West which we inhabit, the Atlantic Ocean and the British isles limited the knowledge of the antients.

The Fortunate islands, now called the Canaries, seemed to them as the remotest part of the ocean between the south and the west; and it was for  
that

that reason Ptolomy reckoned the longitude of the Meridian from those islands; in which he has been followed by many Eastern and Mahometan geographers, and even by the French and most of the Moderns.

The Greeks had some slight knowledge of Hi-  
 bernia, the most western of the British islands, Arist. de Mundo. c. 3.  
 even before the Romans had conquered Great Britain.

The antients had but very imperfect notions of the northern countries as far as the Hyperborean or Icy sea. Though Scandinavia was known, that country and some others of the same continent, were taken for great islands.

It is hard to determine positively what place the antients understood by *ultima Thule*. Many take it for Iceland. But Procopius seems to make it a part of the continent of Scandinavia. Virg. 1. Georg. Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 2. c. 15.

It is certain that the knowledge, which the antients had of Sarmatia and Scythia, was very far from extending to the sea, which now seems to bound Russia and Great Tartary on the north and east sides. The discoveries of the antients went no farther than the Riphæan mountains, the chain of which actually divides Russia in Europe from Siberia.

It is evident that the antients had no great knowledge of the northern part of Asia, when we consider that most of their authors, as Strabo, Mela, Strab. l. 2. p. 121.  
 Pliny, imagined that the Caspian sea was a gulf of the Hyperborean ocean, from whence it issued by a long canal. Mel. l. 3. Plin. l. 6. c. 13.

On the side of the East, the antients seem to have known only the western frontier of China. Ptolomy seems to have had a glimpse of some part of the southern coast of China, but a very imperfect one.

The great islands of Asia, especially those of Japan, were unknown to the antients. Only the

famous Taprobana is to be excepted, the discovery of which was a consequence of Alexander's expedition into India, as Pliny informs us.

Plin. l. 6.  
c. 22.

It remains for me to speak of the southernmost part of Africa. Tho' many have supposed that in a voyage of extraordinary length they had sailed round this part of the world, Ptolomy however seems to insinuate, that it had escaped the knowledge of the antients. Every body knows that it lies almost entirely within the Torrid Zone, which most of the antients believed uninhabitable near the Equinotial line; for which reason Strabo goes very little farther than Meroe in Ethiopia.

Arriani &  
Marciani  
Heracl.  
Peripl.

Ptolomy however, and some others, have carried their knowledge along the eastern coast of Africa as far as the Equator, and even to the island of Madagascar, which he seems to intend by the name of *Menuthias*.

It was reserved for the voyages undertaken by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, in order to go to India by sea, to discover the greatest part of the coasts of Africa upon the Atlantic ocean, and especially the passage by the south of the most extreme cape of Africa. That passage having been discovered, several European nations, led by the hopes of rich traffic, ran over the Indian sea that washes the coasts of Asia, discovered all the islands in it, and penetrated as far as Japan.

The conquests and settlement of the Russians in the northern part of Asia have completed our knowledge of that part of the world.

To conclude, every body knows, that, about the end of the fifteenth century, a new world, situated on the west in respect to ours, beyond the Atlantic ocean, was discovered by Christopher Columbus under the auspices of the crown of Castile.



## S E C T. III.

*Wherein the modern geographers have excelled the antient.*

**I**T would be blindness, and shutting one's eyes against demonstration, not to admit that the modern geography abundantly surpasses the antient. It is well known that the measures of the earth must be sought in the heavens, and that geography depends upon astronomical observations. Now who can doubt, that astronomy has not made an extraordinary progress in later times? The invention of telescopes only, which is of sufficiently recent date, has infinitely contributed to it; and that invention itself has been highly improved in no great number of years. It is therefore no wonder that the antients, with all the genius and penetration we are willing to allow them, were not able to attain to the same degree of knowledge, as they were not assisted in their inquiries by the same aids.

Geography is still far from having received its final perfection. Practical sciences make the least progress. Two or three great geniusses suffice for carrying Theories a great way in a short time; but Practice goes on with a slower pace, because it depends upon a greater number of hands, of which even far the greatest part are but meanly skilful. Geography, which would require an infinite number of exact operations, is imperfect in proportion both to that number, and the accuracy they would require; and we may justly suppose that the description of the terrestrial globe, though it begins to be rectified a little, is still very confused, and far from a true likeness.

It would be of small consequence to mention the faults of the antient and Ptolemaic maps, in which the Mediterranean is made to extend a good fourth more in longitude than it really does. The question  
here

here is the modern maps, which, though generally the better the more modern they are, have still occasion for abundance of corrections.

Monfieur Sanfon has always been confidered as a very good geographer, and his Maps have always been highly efteemed. Monfieur Delifle has however differed from them very often in his. And this is not to be imagined, as it is ufually called, jealousy of profeflion. Since Monfieur Sanfon's time, the earth is exceedingly changed; that is to fay, more accurate, and a greater number of astronomical obfervations have greatly reformed geography. The fame, no doubt, will happen to the maps of Monfieur Delifle; and we ought to wifh fo for the good of the public.

The only method for making good geographical maps would be to have the pofition of every place from astronomical obfervations. But we are exceedingly far from having all thefe pofitions in this manner, and can hardly ever hope to have them. To fupply this want, the itinerary diftances of one place from another are ufed, as found fet down in authors; and it is a great happinefs to find them there with any exactnefs, and without manifefl contradictions, or confiderable difficulties.

Hence, when our moft fkilful geographers were to make a map of the Roman countries, and particularly of Italy, as they had very few astronomical obfervations, they made the itinerary diftances of places, as they found them in the books of the antients, their rule for their pofition.

The pofitions of many places have been fince taken by astronomical obfervations. Monfieur Delifle made ufe of them for correcting the maps of Italy, and the neighbouring countries; and he found that they not only became very different from what they were before, but that the places agreed exactly enough in refpect to the diftances  
given

given them by the antients : so that it is to be presumed, that, in following them literally, good geographical maps might be made of the countries well known to them.

There is reason to be surpris'd at this great conformity of positions found by astronomical observations with those taken from the itinerary distances as set down by the antients: for it is certain, that the situation of places taken from our itinerary distances are often false, and much so too.

But Monsieur Delisle observes, that the Romans had advantages in this respect, which we have not. Their taste for the public utility, and even magnificence (for they embellished all they conquered) had occasioned their making great roads throughout all Italy, of which Rome was the center, and which went to all the principal cities as far as the two seas. They made the like ways in many provinces of the Empire, of which remains, admirable for their construction and solidity, subsist to this day. These ways ran in a right line without quitting it either on account of mountains or marshes. The marshes were drained, and the mountains cut through. Stones were placed from mile to mile, with their numbers upon them. This rectilinear extent, and these divisions into parts sufficiently small in respect to the whole length, rendered the itinerary measures very exact.

This exactness of the measures of the antients was well proved by an experiment made by Monsieur Cassini. The measure of the distance from Narbonne to Nismes had been included in the work of the meridian. That distance was sixty-seven thousand five hundred *toises* or fathoms of Paris. Strabo had also given us the distance of these two cities, which he makes eighty-eight miles. From whence it is easy to conclude, that an antient mile was seven hundred sixty-seven *toises* of Paris. Besides



## OF NAVIGATION.

sides which, as the mile is known to have been five thousand feet, we also find that the antient foot was eleven inches and  $\frac{1}{25}$  of the Paris foot. The measure in consequence must be equal to the antient distance, and has preserved itself without change during so long a space of time.

Monsieur Delisle has given us a map, wherein Italy and Greece are represented in two different manners: the one according to the best modern geographers, the other according to astronomical observations for the places where they were to be had, and, for the rest, according to the measures of antient authors. The difference between these two representations would perhaps seem incredible. In the latter, Lombardy is very much shortened from South to North, Great Greece lengthened, the sea that divides Greece and Italy made narrower, as well as that between Italy and Africa and Greece much lessened.

These last remarks, which are all taken from the Memoirs of the academy of sciences, lengthen this brief head a little, but I conceived them worthy of the reader's curiosity.

## ARTICLE. II.

## OF NAVIGATION.

**I** SHALL examine only one point in this place, which is the wonderful change that an experiment, which might appear of small importance, has occasioned in navigation, and the superiority we have acquired in this respect over the antients, by a means that seemed trivial in itself: it is easy to perceive that I mean the Compass. This instrument is a box that has a needle in it, touched with a loadstone, that turns always towards the pole, except in some places where it has a declination.

The

The antients, we know, who steered their ships by the sun in the day, and the stars during the night, in misty weather could not discern what course to hold; and, for that reason, not daring to put out to sea, were obliged to keep close to the shore, and could not undertake voyages of any considerable length,

They knew one of the virtues of the loadstone, which is to attract iron. One would think that the slightest attention might have occasioned their discovering its other property of directing itself towards the pole of the world, and in consequence have led them on to the compass. But he who disposes all things kept their eyes shut to an effect which seemed of itself obvious to them.

Neither the author of this invention, nor the time when the use of it was first thought of, are precisely known. It is however certain, that the French used the loadstone in navigation long before any other nation of Europe, as may be easily proved from the works of some of our antient French authors, who spoke of it first above four hundred years ago. It is true, the invention was then very imperfect: for they say, that the needle was only put into a bowl, or vessel, full of water, where it could turn itself towards the North, supported upon a pin. The Chinese, if we may believe certain modern relations, make use, to this day, of the same kind of compass.

Cassini's  
Astron.  
Memoirs.

Guyot de  
Provines.

The navigators, perceiving the importance of this invention, made many Astronomical Observations, towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, to assure themselves of it, and found, that a needle, touched with a loadstone, and set *in æquilibrio* upon a pivot, did actually turn of itself towards the pole, and that the direction of such a needle might be employed for knowing the regions  
of

of the world, and the \* point of the wind in which it is proper to sail.

By other observations it has since been discovered, that the needle does not always point to the true North, but that it has a small declination sometimes towards the East, and sometimes towards the West; and even that this declination changes at different times and places. But they found also the means of knowing this variation so exactly by the sun and stars, that the compass may be used with certainty for finding the regions of the heavens, even when clouded, provided that it has been rectified a little before by the observation of the stars.

The curiosity of the Learned of Europe began at that time to awake. They soon invented various instruments, made tables and calculations for facilitating the observation of the stars.

Never had navigation so many advantages for succeeding. The pilots did not fail to make the best of them. With these helps they crossed unknown seas; and the success of their first voyages encouraged them to attempt new discoveries. All the nations of Europe applied themselves to them in emulation of each other. The French were the first in signalising their courage and address: they seized the Canaries, and discovered great part of Guinea. The Portuguese took the island of Madeira and that of Cape Verd; and the Flemings discovered the islands of the Azores.

These discoveries were only preludes to that of the New World. Christopher Columbus, founding his design upon his knowledge of astronomy, and, as it is said, upon the memoirs of a Biscayan pilot, whom a storm had thrown upon an island of the Atlantic ocean, undertook to cross that sea. He proposed it to several of the princes of Europe, of whom some neglected it, because engaged in affairs of a more urgent nature; and

\* *Of which points there are two and thirty upon the compass.*



others rejected it, because they neither comprehended the importance of that expedition, nor the reasons that Columbus gave to explain the possibility of it. Thus the glory of the discovery of the new world was left to the kings of Castile, who afterwards acquired immense riches from it.

Columbus well knew, from his knowledge of the sphere and geography, that, sailing continually towards the West under the same parallel or very near it, he could not fail of finding lands at length, because, if he found no new ones, the earth being round, he must necessarily arrive by the shortest course at the extremity of the East-Indies.

In his voyages from Lisbon to Guinea, sailing from North to South, he had been confirmed by experience that a degree of the earth's circumference contains fifty-six miles and two thirds, according to the measure established by the astronomers of Almamon; and he had learnt in the books of Ptolemy, that, keeping always to the West from the Canaries to the first lands of Asia, there are only an hundred and eighty degrees. Accordingly he set out from the Canaries, steering always to the West under the same parallel. As he did not entirely rely upon the compass, he always took care to observe the sun by day, and the fixed stars by night. This precaution prevented him from mistaking his course: For those who have written his life say, that his Observations of the Heavens made him perceive a variation in his compass, which he did not know before; and that he rectified his way by them.

*Ferdinand  
Columbus  
in his life of  
Columbus.  
Chap. 4.*

*Chap. 17.*

After sailing two months, he arrived at the Lucay islands, and from thence went on to Hispaniola, Cuba, and Saint Domingo, from whence he brought back great riches into Spain. Astronomy, by which he had discovered these rich countries, assisted him also in establishing himself there: For, in his second voyage, his fleet being reduced

*Chap. 22.*

to extremities by the want of provisions, and the inhabitants of Jamaica refusing to supply him with them, he had the address to threaten them he would darken the moon at a time when he knew there would be an eclipse; and, as that eclipse really happened the day he had foretold, the terrified Barbarians granted him whatever he pleased.

Whilst Columbus was discovering the southern part of the new world, the French discovered the northern part of it, and gave it the name of New France.

Vesput.  
navig.  
prim.

Americus Vesputius continued the discoveries of Columbus, and had the advantage of giving his name to the whole new world, which has ever since been called America. Astronomy was of great use to him in his voyages.

On the other side, the pilots of the king of Portugal, who till then had only traversed the coasts of Africa, doubled at this time the Cape of Good-hope, and opened themselves a passage into the East-Indies, where they made very great conquests.

Is there in all history an event comparable to that I have now related, that is to say, to the discovery of the new world? Upon what did it depend for so many ages? Upon the knowledge of a property of the load stone, easily discoverable, which had, however, escaped the inquiries of an infinite number of the Learned, whose sagacity had penetrated into the most obscure and most profound mysteries of nature. Is it possible not to discern here the finger of God?

Columbus had never thought of forming his enterprise, and indeed could never have succeeded in it, without a great knowledge of astronomy: for Providence delights in concealing its wonders under the veil of human operations. How important therefore is it in a well-governed state to place the superior sciences in honour and reputation, which are capable of rendering mankind such great services,

Services, and which have actually hitherto procured them, and still continue to procure them, such considerable advantages?

The reader will permit me to say a few words in this place upon two voyages of the Learned, which do the king and Literature in general great honour.

*Voyages to Peru and into the North, undertaken by the order of Lewis XV.*

In 1672, Mr. Richer observed in the island of Cayenne, that the curvation of the superficies of the earth was greater there than in the Temperate Zone. Hence it was concluded that the figure of the earth must be that of a spheroid flat towards the poles, and not elliptical, or oblong, as it was and still is believed by very skilful astronomers: for the point is not yet determined.

NEWTON and HUYGENS came afterwards by their theory to the same conclusion. It was to be assured of this truth, that in the year 1735, that is to say, at a time when France had a war to support, which has since terminated so gloriously for her, the king, always intent upon making the sciences flourish in his dominions, sent astronomers to Peru and into the North, in order to determine with certainty by accurate observations the figure of the terrestrial globe. Nothing was spared, either in respect to the expences of the voyage, or to procure them all the conveniencies that might promote their success.

We saw them, in consequence, set out, part of them to expose themselves to the burning heats of the Torrid Zone, and the rest to fly with the same ardour to confront all the horrors of the frozen North. The first have not been heard of a great while; but great discoveries are expected from their inquiries. The others have been come back from the North some months. The particulars of



what they suffered, in order to give their operations all the perfection of which they were capable, is scarce credible. They were obliged to traverse immense forests, in which they were the first that ever opened themselves away; to scale mountains of amazing height, and covered with wood, which it was necessary for them to cut down; to pass torrents of an impetuosity capable of astonishing such as only beheld them, and that too in wretched boats, that had no other pilot but a Laplander, nor mast or sails but a tree with its branches. Add to this the excessive cold of those regions remote from the sun, of which they experienced all the rigours; and the gross nourishment on which they were reduced to subsist during a very considerable length of time. It is easy to conceive the courage these indefatigable observers must have had to surmount so many difficulties, that seemed to render the execution of the project confided to them impossible. The late Reading of the account of this voyage in the Academy of Sciences, since their return, has made the Public very desirous to see it \* printed.

One is sometimes tempted to treat as useless such laborious and scrupulous observations, that have no end but to determine the Figure of the Earth; and there are many who will perhaps believe, that those who made them might have spared themselves the trouble, and made a better use of the money employed in them. But this proceeds from the ignorance of the relation of Observations of this nature to navigation, and the advantages resulting from them to astronomy. This event will not a little conduce to exalt the glory of the reign of Lewis XV.

\* It has been published, and there is a translation of it printed.

## ARTICLE III.

*Reflections upon astronomy.*

I Cannot conclude the Article of Astronomy without making two Reflections with the authors of the learned Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences.

## FIRST REFLECTION,

*upon the Satellites of Jupiter.*

We are naturally enough inclined, as I have already observed in speaking of geometry, to consider as useless, and to despise, what we do not understand. We have one moon to light us by night; and what signifies it to us, some object, that Jupiter has four? (The moons or satellites of Jupiter are the same thing :) And wherefore so many laborious Observations, and fatiguing calculations, for knowing their revolutions? We shall be never the wiser for that, and nature, which has placed those little Stars out of the reach of our eyes, does not seem to have made them for us.

In virtue of so plausible a way of reasoning, we ought to neglect observing them with the telescope, and studying them with particular attention: And what a loss would not that be to the public!

The method of determining the Longitudes of the places of the earth by the means of the Eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, which the academy royal first began to put in practice, was found so exact, that it was judged that the correction of geography in general, and the making of true Maps and Charts for the uses of navigation, might be undertaken by this means. This could not be done before, because the eclipses of the moon had been the only means used for finding, but with little exact-

ness, the difference of the longitudes of some remote places. And these eclipses that usually happen only once or twice a year, are much less frequent than those of the satellites of Jupiter, which happen at farthest every two days, though all of them cannot be observed in the same place, as well through the difference of the hours in which Jupiter is above the horizon, as upon account of the weather, which often prevents observations.

This undertaking to work, for the improvement of geography, in a new and more perfect manner than had ever been imagined before, being agreeable to his Majesty's intentions in the Institution of his Academy of Sciences, it was his pleasure, that persons should be chosen, capable of executing the instructions to be given them in different places, and that proper occasions should be taken for sending them into remote countries. The history of these voyages is exactly related in the memoirs of the academy of sciences, and is, in my opinion, one of the circumstances of the reign of Lewis XIV. which will do him most honour in ages to come.

When his majesty was informed of the observations that the members of the academy of sciences had taken by his order in different places out of the kingdom, he commanded them to apply themselves in making a map of France with the utmost exactness possible. This had been often attempted, but without success, for want of the means we have at this time, which are pendulum-clocks, and the great telescopes now used for discovering the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, which is the most certain method for determining the difference of meridians.

Had astronomy in all its extent no other advantage to mankind, than what is derived from the Satellites of Jupiter, it would sufficiently justify those immense calculations, those assiduous and

scru-



scrupulous observations, that great number of instruments wrought with so much pains, and the superb building solely erected for the use of this science. The least knowledge of the principles of geography and navigation shews, that, since Jupiter's four moons have been known, they have been of more use in respect to those sciences, than our moon itself; that they now serve, and always will, for making Sea Charts exceedingly more correct than those of the antients, which in all probability will save the lives of an infinite number of mariners.

## SECOND REFLECTION,

*Upon the amazing scene which astronomy opens to our view.*

Though Astronomy were not so absolutely necessary as it is to Geography and Navigation, it would be infinitely worthy of the curiosity of all thinking men, from the grand and superb scene which it opens to their view. To give some idea of it, I shall only repeat, in a few words, what the observations of astronomers have taught us of the immense bulk of some of those great orbs that move over our heads.

The stars are divided into planets and fixed stars.

The planets (a Greek word that signifies *errant*, or *wandering*) are so called, because they are not always at an equal distance either from each other, or in respect to the fixed stars; whereas the latter are always at the same distance from each other. The planets have no light of their own, and are only visible by the reflection of that of the sun. The astronomers have observed, that they have a particular motion of their own, besides that which they have in common with the rest of the heavens. They have computed this motion, and, from the time which each planet employs in one revolution,

## REFLECTIONS

tion, have with reason established its elevation and distance.

The MOON, of all the planets, is the nearest to the earth, and almost sixty times less.

The SUN is not a body of the same species as the earth, and the rest of the planets, nor solid like them. It is a vast ocean of light, that boils up perpetually, and diffuses itself with incessant profusion. It is the source of all that light which the planets only reflect to each other after having received it from him.

The EARTH is a million of times less than the globe of the sun, and thirty-three millions of leagues distant from it. During so many ages the sun has suffered no diminution. Its diameter is equal at this day to the most antient observations of it, and its light as vigorous and as abundant as ever.

JUPITER is five times as far from the sun as us, that is to say, an hundred and sixty-five millions of leagues. He turns round upon his own axis every ten hours.

SATURN is thirty years in his revolution round the sun. He is twice as far from it as Jupiter, and consequently ten times more distant than us, that is to say, three hundred and thirty millions of leagues.

The FIXED STARS are, with respect to the earth, at a distance not to be conceived by human wit. According to the observations of Mr. Huygens, the distance of the earth from the nearest Fixed Star is, with respect to that of the sun, as one to twenty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty-four. Now we have said, that the distance of the earth from the sun is thirty-three millions of leagues. The least distance therefore of the earth from the fixed stars is nine hundred and two\* billions, nine hundred and twelve millions of leagues, that is to

\* A billion is ten hundred thousand millions.

say, twenty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty-four times the distance from hence to the sun, which, as we have said, is thirty-three millions of leagues.

The same Mr. Huygens supposes, and infallible experiments have proved him right, that a cannon-bullet flies about an hundred toises (above two hundred yards) in a second. Supposing it to move always with the same velocity, and measuring the space it flies according to that calculation, he demonstrates that a cannon-bullet would be almost five and twenty years in arriving at the sun; and twenty-seven thousand six hundred and sixty-four times twenty-five years in reaching the fixed star nearest the earth. What then must we think of the fixed stars infinitely more remote from us?

Those stars are innumerable. The antient astronomers counted a thousand and twenty-two of them. Since the use of astronomical glasses, millions that escape the eye appear.

They all shine by their own light, and are all, like the sun, inexhaustible sources of light. And indeed, if they received it from the sun, it must necessarily be very feebly, after a passage of so enormous a length: they must also transmit it to us, at the same distance, by a reflection, that would make it still much weaker. Now it would be impossible, that a light which had undergone a reflection, and ran twice the space of 902,912000000 leagues, should have the force and liveliness that the light of the fixed stars has. It is therefore certain, that they are luminous of themselves, and, in a word, all of them so many suns.

But the question here is only the magnitude and remoteness of those vast bodies. When we consider them together, is it possible to support the view, or rather the idea of them? The globe of the sun a million of times greater than the earth, and di-



stant thirty-three millions of leagues! Saturn almost four thousand times as big, and ten times farther from the sun than us! No comparison between the planets and the fixed stars! The whole immense space which contains our sun and planets is but a little parcel of the universe. As many of the like spaces as of fixed stars! What then must the immensity of the whole firmament be, that contains all these different bodies within its extent? Can we so much as think of it, can we fix our view upon it for some moments, without being confounded, amazed, and terrified? It is an abyss, in which we lose ourselves. What then must be the greatness, power, and immensity of him, who, with a single word, both formed these enormous masses, and the spaces that contain them! And these incomprehensible wonders to human wit the holy Scripture, in a style that belongs only to God, expresses in one word, *and the stars*. After having related the creation of the sun and moon, it adds, *he made the stars also*. Is there any thing requisite, to render the incredulity and ingratitude of mankind inexcusable, besides this book of the firmament written in the characters of light? And has not the prophet reason to cry out, full of religious admiration: *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy-work*.

# CONCLUSION

## *of the whole Work.*

**A**FTER having made almost all the states and kingdoms of the universe in a manner pass in review before our eyes, and having considered circumstantially the most important events that passed in them during the course of so many ages, it seems natural enough to go back a moment, before we quit this great scene, and to collect its principal parts into one point of view, in order to our being able to form the better judgment of it. On the one side we see princes, warriors, and conquerors; on the other magistrates, politicians and legislators; and in the midst of both the Learned of all kinds, who, by the utility, beauty, or sublimity of their knowledge, have acquired immortal reputation. These three classes include, in my opinion, all that is most shining, and most attractive of esteem and admiration in human greatness. I consider the universe here only in its fairest light, and for a moment take off my view from all the vices and disorders that disturb its beauty and œconomy.

Before me stand Princes and Kings, full of wisdom and prudence in their counsels, of equity and justice in the government of their people, of valour and intrepidity in battle, of moderation and clemency in victory, subjecting many kingdoms, founding vast empires, and acquiring the love of the conquered nations no less than of their own subjects: such was Cyrus. At the same time I see a multitude of Greeks and Romans, equally illustrious in war and peace; Generals of the most exalted bravery and military knowledge; Politicians

cians of exceeding ability in the arts of government; famous Legislators, whose laws and institutions still amaze us, whilst they seem almost incredible, so much they appear above humanity; Magistrates infinitely venerable for their love of the public good; Judges of great wisdom, incorruptible, and proof against all that can tempt avidity; and lastly, Citizens, entirely devoted to their country, whose generous and noble disinterestedness rises so high as the contempt of riches, and the esteem and love of poverty. If I turn my eyes towards the Arts and Sciences, what lustre do not the multitude of admirable Works come down to us display, in which shine forth, according to the difference of subjects, art and disposition, greatness of genius, riches of invention, beauty of Style, solidity of judgment, and profound erudition.

This is the great, the splendid Scene, that history, the faithful register of past events, has hitherto presented to our view, and upon which it now remains for us to pass our judgment. Is it possible to refuse our esteem to such rare and excellent qualities, such shining actions, and noble sentiments? Let us call to mind the maxims of morality in the writings of the philosophers, so refined, so conformable to right reason, and even so sublime, as to be capable sometimes of making Christians blush. Do not men of such profound knowledge and understanding deserve the name of Sages?

The just Judge of all things, by whose judgment it is our duty to direct our own, absolutely denies it them, as Mr. du Guet observes so justly in several of his works, and as I have said elsewhere.

*Psalm. xiv. The Lord, says the royal prophet, looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand and seek God. The earth is full of persons that excel in arts and sciences. There are many Philosophers, Orators, and Politicians.*

*There*



There are even many Legislators, Interpreters of Laws, and Ministers of Justice, Many are consulted as persons of extraordinary wisdom, and their answers are considered as decisions, from which it is not allowable to depart. However, amongst so many wise and intelligent persons in the sight of men, God discerns none that are not foolish and mad. *They are all gone aside, they are altogether become filthy: there is none that doth good, no not one.* The censure is general and without exception.

What then is wanting in these pretended wise-men? The fear of God, without which there is no true wisdom, *to see if there was any that did understand and seek God:* the knowledge of their own misery and corruption, and their want of a Mediator, and a Restorer or Redeemer. Every thing is in esteem amongst them, except Religion and Piety. They know neither the use nor end of any thing. They go on without design, or knowing whither they should tend. They are ignorant of what they are, and what will become of them. Can folly be more clear and evident?

The thoughts of God are very different from those of men. The Universe, peopled with powerful kings, famous legislators, celebrated philosophers, and learned men of all kinds, is the object of our admiration and praises; and God sees nothing but disorder and corruption in it: *The earth was corrupt before God.* The qualities, knowledge, and maxims of which I speak, were, however, very estimable in themselves. They were the gifts of God, from whom alone comes all good, and all knowledge: but the Pagans perverted their nature by the unworthy use they made of them, in considering themselves as their principle and end. I speak here even of those amongst them that passed for the best and wisest, whose virtues were infected either with pride or ingratitude; or, to speak more properly, with both,

I have

I have observed that certain ages, which abounded with illustrious examples whether at Athens or Rome, exhibit a grand and noble scene in history: but there was at the same time another, which highly disgraced the glory, and sullied the beauty of the former; I mean, the Idolatry that generally prevailed throughout the universe. The whole earth was covered with thick darkness, and lay plunged in gross and stupid ignorance. Only one country, and that of very small extent, knew the true God: *In Judah is God known: his name is great in Israel.* Elsewhere all mouths were mute in respect to him, and the hymns of idolatrous solemnities were only invitations to crimes, which the seducer of mankind had made their duty. *God suffered all nations to walk each after their own way,* to make themselves gods of all creatures, to adore all their own passions, to abandon themselves thro' despair to those which are most shameful, to be ignorant of their origin and end, to direct their lives by errors, and fable, and believe every thing indiscriminately, or nothing at all.

One would imagine that man, situated in the midst of the wonders which fill all nature, and largely possessed of the good things of God, could not forget him, nor remember him without adoration and fidelity. But in the midst of the greatest light he behaved like the blind. He became deaf to all the voices that proclaimed the Majesty and Holiness of the Creator. He adored every thing, except God. The Stars and Sun, that declared the Divinity, he honoured in his stead. Wood and stone, under a thousand forms, which his wild imagination had invented, were become his gods. In a word, false religions had deluged the whole earth; and if some few were less stupid than the rest, they were equally impious and ungrateful. Did not the only one of these, who had explained himself too clearly, deny in public what he believed

lieved in private? Whence we may observe, of what avail the reason of all mankind was, when they had no other guide.

We see here the principal fruits to be derived from the study of profane history, of which every page declares what mankind were during so many ages, and what we ourselves should still be, had not the peculiar mercy, which made known the Saviour of the world to us, drawn us out of the abyfs, in which all our forefathers were swallowed up. *It is of the Lord's mercies we are not consumed.* A mercy freely and entirely conferred, which we have no power to deserve in any manner of ourselves, and for which we ought to render eternal homage of gratitude and *praise to the grace of JESUS* Eph. i. 6.  
CHRIST.





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